

THE
ROMAN HISTORY
FROM THE
FOUNDATION of ROME
TO THE
BATTLE of ACTIUM:

THAT IS,

To the End of the COMMONWEALTH.

*By Mr ROLLIN, late Principal of the University of
Paris, Professor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and
Fellow of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles
Lettres.*

VOL. VIII.

*Revised, and compleated by Mr CREVIER, Professor
of Rhetoric in the College of Beauvais.*

Translated from the FRENCH.


THE SECOND EDITION.

Illustrated with Maps, and Copper Plates.

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THE
ROMAN HISTORY

FROM THE
FOUNDATION OF ROME
TO THE
BATTLE OF ACTIUM:

TO THE EDITOR OF THE
LONDON LITERARY GAZETTE
BY MARCELLUS EMILIUS
PATER, ESQ. OF LINCOLN'S INN
FELLOW OF THE SOCIETY OF
ANTIQUE LITERATURE

VOL. VII.

Revised and corrected by MR. CRYSTIAN B. B. B.
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM
THE SECOND EDITION

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THE
EDITOR'S ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE
READER.

TWO Volumes of the Roman History have already appeared since the death of Mr. Rollin. However This, of which I am the Editor, is the first that can properly be called Posthumous. The Sixth and Seventh were printed whilst the Author was alive, and were prevented from appearing only for Mr. D'Anville's maps, whose regard for the accuracy of his works makes him with reason take the necessary time for compleating them in such a manner, as may deserve the opinion of the Publick.

The eighth volume is not in the same case with those that preceded it. Mr. Rollin put the first draught of it, according to his custom, into my hands, on setting out for the country in July 1741, after his first illness: and he never saw it from that time. Accordingly he did not give this, nor many large parts, which he had prepared for the ninth volume, the last hand. The revisal, in which

he was very attentive, is wanting to this part of his work. And instead of my offering my observations to him as heretofore, always with submission to his better judgment, I was obliged to take upon me to decide in respect to the additions and alterations, which seemed necessary.

It was not without great repugnance that I took this liberty, though I did not assume it of myself, and in doing so only obeyed his orders. The profound veneration, which I always had for him from my earliest youth, would have induced me to respect every syllable of his manuscript. But every one who composes, perfectly knows, the difference between the first draught from an author's pen, and the same work made fit for the press. It was therefore necessary, that a timidity, however well-founded, should give place to the good of the work, and the service of the publick, which Mr. Rollin directed me to prefer to every other consideration; and I conceived, that his own maxims and example would condemn me, if, out of an excess of respect for his memory, I should leave these last fruits of his labour in a condition he would not have left them himself; and if I spared my weak endeavours to bring them as near as possible to the degree of perfection they would have had, if he had lived.

I have at least taken care to adapt myself as much as possible to his view; and upon every doubt that arose, to consult the idea which I had

had of his taste and manner of thinking: and I have made no addition, nor alteration, which I am not assured my Master himself would have approved upon my representation.

After all, my part in this volume is very inconsiderable: the whole matter, and every thing essential is the same Author's. I therefore venture to assure the publick, that they will still find Mr. Rollin here; that is, not only the easiness, elegance and elevation of his style, but his generous and exalted sentiments, his zeal for every thing that regards the good of human society, his love of virtue, his reverence for the Divine Providence; in a word, a profane subject in a manner sanctified by the spirit of Religion, with which it every where abounds.

How gladly should I expatiate in the praise of this great man, whom it was my good-fortune to have for my master, benefactor and father! But I have something to present the Reader, which is much better than any thing that could come from my own hand. M. de Boze, who paid Mr. Rollin the tribute of praise customary in the Academy of *Belles Lettres*, with all the amity of a brother-fellow, all the frankness of a worthy man, and all the ability of an excellent painter, has been pleased to put so valuable a piece into my hands in order to its being printed in the front of this volume. A circumstance happy for me, and which no doubt will be highly agreeable to the publick, has forced him to

anticipate the time, when this *Elogium* was to appear in the Memoirs of the Academy of *Belles Lettres*. Respect for Mr. Rollin, and the prejudice so well founded in favour of every thing Mr. de Boze treats, had made some persons design to commit one of those unavoidable piracies upon him, which only the most excellent orators are apt to experience. His discourse was taken down as he pronounced it in the Assembly itself, and has been printed in the twelfth volume of a collection intitled, *Amusemens du Cœur & de l'Esprit*, with interpolations, mistaken facts, and defects of style, that strangely disfigure it. And it is to this I now have the consolation of giving, and the publick the satisfaction of reading, the Elogium of Mr. Rollin made by the illustrious Secretary of the Academy of *Belles Lettres*.

Mr. de Boze has confined himself to what suited the audience, before which he spoke, and considered the person, whose praise was his subject only in respect to his genius, talents, and literature. And indeed to describe the heart of Mr. Rollin is superfluous after the picture of it in his works. He has there drawn himself with a simplicity and force, which no other hand can equal. Every body knows, that the sentiments of a noble soul, expressed in every stroke of his pen, are what have acquired him most admirers both in France and amongst Strangers, and that the man in him charms more than the Writer, I shall

shall therefore not undertake to applaud here his beneficent disposition, his candor, his generosity, his charitable acts, and his tender and sincere piety. Let me only observe for the honour of Religion, and the confusion of those, who consider devotion as the attribute of little minds, that in him piety was as simple as learned; and that he perfectly verified the celebrated saying, that Religion is admired in great minds for the Little things, and in common minds for the Great things, it makes them do.

How happy should I be, could I attain the two characters of this admirable man's spirit; and, as I am appointed by his orders, and in a manner by those of Providence, to continue his work, if I could preserve at least a shadow of his talents, and especially of the sentiments of Religion, which were the soul of them! I can at least solemnly aver, that in the career upon which I am entering, I shall never lose sight of so excellent a model; and that I propose to myself as near as possible to pursue his taste and plan; that is to render the History useful with respect to morals, and always to make it subservient to virtue, and the glory of Religion.

May it please Heaven, that I may acquit myself worthily of this design, and, after the example of my ever dear and venerable Master, in labouring for the improvement of Youth, that I may labour also for my own sanctification.

ELOGIUM

OF

Mr. ROLLIN,

*By Mr. de BOZE, perpetual Secretary
of the Academy of Inscriptions, and
Belles Lettres.*

*Read in the publick Assembly of that Academy
Nov. 14, 1741.*

CHARLES ROLLIN, second son of Peter Rollin, a Master-cutler of Paris, was born there on the 30th of January 1661, and was intended, as well as his elder brother, for his father's business, who had made both take up their freedoms in their earliest youth.

A Benedictine, of the order called *White-mantles*, whom he had often heard say, or served at, mass, because their church was in his neighbourhood, was the first who observed in him a great capacity for letters. He knew his mother, who in her way was a woman of merit: he spoke to her, and told her that it was absolutely necessary to make him a
Student.

Student. Her own opinion also suggested something of the same kind to her; but reasons stronger in appearance always opposed it. She was become a widow, without any resource on the side of fortune but carrying on her husband's trade. Her children were the only support she had, and she was not in a condition to be at expences to give any of them a different education.

The good Monk, far from desisting, continued his instances; and the principal obstacle having been removed by obtaining a scholarship in the College of the XVIII, the fate of young Rollin was decided in consequence, and from thenceforth he appeared in a quite different light, even in the eyes of his mother.

She began by perceiving more wit and delicacy in his manner of address and obedience. She soon after was sensible of the progress he made, which was talked of every where, and not without a kind of astonishment: and what undoubtedly was no less grateful to her, was to see the parents of his fellow-students of the most distinguished birth and rank, send or come themselves to desire, that she would permit her son to pass holidays with them, and be the companion of their pleasures as well as of their studies.

At the head of these illustrious parents was the Minister Mr. le Peletier, whose two eldest sons had found a formidable competitor in this new-comer. Their father, who perfectly knew the advantages of emulation, was
solicitous

sollicitous to increase it. When the young scholar was *Imperator*, which frequently happened, he sent him the same present as he did to his sons, and the latter loved him tho' their rival; they carried him home with them in their coach; they set him down at his mother's when he had business there, and waited for him: and one day observing that he took the first place without ceremony, she was going to reprimand him sharply for want of good manners; but the Præceptor humbly answered, that Mr. Peletier had given orders, that they should always place themselves in the coach according to their rank in the class.

This brief account of Mr. Rollin's progress in his studies will suffice, and we the more willingly suppress other particulars of it, as with some little differences, such details are but too often introduced into the Historical Elogies of the members of the Academy it is deprived of by death. But we cannot dispence with relating however, that when he studied Rhetorick in the College of Pleffis under the celebrated Mr. Hersan, who was studious to excite the ardor of his pupils by honourable Epithets, that Professor said publickly, that he did not know by what term to distinguish young Rollin sufficiently, and that he was sometimes tempted to denominate him *DIVINE*. He referred almost all those who asked him for compositions in verse or prose to his disciple: *Apply to him*, said he; *he will do it much better than I*.

Some

Some time after, a Minister, to whom nothing could be refused, Mr. Louvois, engaged Mr. Hersan to quit the College of Pleffis to be with the Abbot de Louvois his son, of whose education he took great care, and who gave great hopes of his proficiency. Mr. Rollin was then only in his twenty third year, and so early was considered as worthy to succeed Mr. Hersan. He was the only one of a different opinion, and it was not without doing violence to him that it was resolved he should be second professor, as Mr. Hersan had been before he was advanced to the chair of Professor of Rhetorick, which he also had some years after him: and what compleated the entire conformity between them, was, that Mr. Hersan who had the survivorship of a chair of eloquence in the College Royal, resigned that also with the King's permission in favour of Mr. Rollin.

The necessity of composing tragedies for the distribution of prizes at the end of every year, was the only thing that gave Mr. Rollin some difficulty. However sensible he was in other respects to the beauties of the antient dramatick poets, he was convinced, that such representations did not suit Colleges, where they only made the masters and scholars lose precious time: and it was remembered on this occasion, that Mr. le Pelletier having been desirous, that some should be placed at his house by his sons and the young persons he had associated with them in their studies,
Mr.

ELOGIUM of Mr. ROLLIN.

Mr. Rollin was the only one, who could never be prevailed upon to act any part. A certain fund of ingenuous modesty, that attended him in every part of his character, prevented him from taking upon him only for an instant any strange personage.

Excepting almost only this circumstance, no professor exercised his functions in a more shining manner. He often made Latin orations, in which he celebrated the events of the times; as the first victories of the Dauphin, the taking of Philipsburgh, and the following campaigns. But the Greek language always seemed to him to deserve the preference. It had began to be neglected in the Schools of the University: he revived the study, and was the true restorer of it. He very much regretted, that the custom of disputing in Greek had been discontinued. Mr. Boivin junr. had set the last example of it; and not having sufficient authority to re-establish it, he introduced another still more useful, that of publick Exercises upon the antient Greek and Latin Authors. He chose the youngest sons of Mr. le Pelletier to do the first of these exercises, and the applauses they received, excited an emulation in the other Colleges, which still subsists. Mr. Rollin usually augmented the lustre of them by pieces of poetry, which he addressed, sometimes to those who performed these exercises, sometimes to their parents; and many of these pieces are printed. Mr. le Pelletier carefully pre-

preserved the original of that, which Mr. Rollin inscribed to him upon the exercise of his sons. He composed three upon those of the Abbot de Louvois: and the third is remarkable for explaining clearly and with inimitable graces the print of the famous *Theses*, which the Marquess of Louvois his father made him dedicate to the King on his return from taking Mons. With these talents were united an indefatigable zeal, and such a discernment of different geniuses, that he instantly saw what they were capable of, and the method to be used in their instruction. His capacity in checking impetuosity, and exalting courage, in sparing delicacy, and subduing indolence, enabled him to form abundance of learned men and excellent Professors, and to give the Clergy, Bench, and even profession of arms, persons of great merit. The Premier President M. Portail used sometimes to tell him, by way of jest, that he had made him labour too hard: and Mr. Rollin seriously replied; “ It becomes you indeed to complain of
“ that, Sir. It is that application to business
“ which distinguished you in the office of
“ Attorney General, and raised you to that of
“ Premier President: you are indebted to me
“ for your fortune.”

After having been eight or ten years successively Professor in the College of Plessis; Mr. Rollin quitted it, to devote himself entirely to the study of History, retaining of his publick functions only the chair of eloquence in the
Royal

Royal College, which he held however only with the title of Survivorship, without any advantage: but he had an estate of about 6 or 700 livres a year (about 35*l.* sterling) and believed himself extremely rich.

The University, that perceived their loss in the retreat of Mr. Rollin, soon recalled him. He was chosen Rector or Principal at the end of 1694, and was continued so two years, which was then a great distinction. In this quality he twice pronounced the panegyrick upon the King in the schools of the Sorbonne, which the city had lately founded. Never were Audiences more numerous and polite. These two orations were considered as master-pieces; and especially the last, the subject of which was the establishment of the Invalides. And however, as if that subject had not sufficed the fertility of Mr. Rollin's genius, the same day he caused an ode upon the other ornaments of Paris to be distributed in the assembly. The description of its gates alone as triumphal arches formed in this poem a new panegyrick still more worthy of the Hero.

What we find in the Memoirs of Mr. *Amelot de la Houssaye*, in the article of precedencies, is to be dated at this time. He says there, *that at a publick disputation in Civil Law, the Principal Charles Rollin would never suffer the Archbishop of Sens (Fortin de la Hogue) to take place of him.* It is not necessary to add, that at all other times, and
on

on every other occasion, he would never have disputed place with any one.

The end of Mr. Rollin's Rectorship did not entirely restore his liberty. The Cardinal de Noailles engaged him to take upon him the directions of his nephews studies, who were at the College of Laon; and he applied himself to this with pleasure, when Mr. Vitte-ment, to whom the education of the children of France was given, earnestly desired to resign his Coadjutorship in the office of Principal of the College of Beauvais to Mr. Rollin. The latter made great difficulty to accept of it, and it appears from some of the printed letters of the Abbe Duguet, that it was he, who determined him to do so.

The College of Beauvais, now so flourishing, was then a kind of desert, in which there were very few scholars, and no discipline: and what seemed to make it impossible ever to re-establish order and application in it, was its being united with another college of the same nature. We shall not say in what manner Mr. Rollin succeeded in placing it in honour, and to people it almost beyond what it could contain. We may imagine justly that all the talents were necessary, which himself requires in a good Principal in his Treatise upon Study. It is common enough for great masters to prescribe the true duties of an office, only by repeating, without thinking of it, the manner in which themselves have discharged them.

And

And accordingly nothing equalled the confidence people had in him. A rich man of the country, who knew him only by reputation, brought his son to him to be admitted to board as a scholar in the college of Beauvais, not believing That would admit of any difficulty. Mr. Rollin excused himself from receiving him, because there was not an inch of room to spare, and to convince him of that, he carried him through all the apartments. The father in despair did not express himself by vain exclamations. *I am come, said he, expressly to Paris; I shall set out to-morrow; I shall send you my son with a bed. I have none but him: you may lodge him in the courtyard, or in the cellar if you please: but he shall be in your college, and from this moment I shall give myself no farther pain about it.* He did as he said. Mr. Rollin was reduced to admit the young man, and to lodge him in his own closet, till he could provide an usual place for him.

In 1712, he quitted the office of Principal of Beauvais to resume the first project of his studies more at leisure. He began by working upon Quintilian, upon whom he set a great value, and of whom he saw with pain too little use made. He retrenched all from him, that he judged superfluous for forming orators, or improving the manners: he explained his method and views in an elegant Preface: he added Summaries sufficiently copious before the chapters: he accompanied the

the text with brief but curious notes; and the edition appeared in two volumes in 12mo. the beginning of 1715.

The University, to which he was also so dear and so useful, in 1719 appointed him to speak a solemn oration, by way of thanks, for the Free Instruction which the King had lately instituted. The subject was great, and the sublimity and pomp of expressions not unequal to it: he spoke in it as a consummate Master of the order, choice, and taste of studies; and what he said, made it ardently desired, that he would one day give the world a compleat treatise upon that subject.

The university also judging, that their antient statutes stood in need of some alterations in that respect, and that no one was more capable of drawing them up than Mr. Rollin, elected him Principal again in 1720. But particular circumstances shortened this second Principalship so much, that the statutes were no longer thought of, and he had time to compose his treatise upon the manner of studying and teaching the *Belles Lettres*. He divided it into four volumes, the first two of which he published in 1726, and the two last in 1728.

Encouraged by the success of that work, he undertook another of much greater extent, and which however was but a necessary sequel of the former: this was the Antient History of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Assyrians,
VOL. VIII. (a) Baby-

Babylonians, Medes, and Persians, Macedonians and Grecians. He was at first in hopes of bringing it within the compass of six or seven volumes; but it led him on insensibly to the thirteenth.

They all appeared between the year 1730 and 1738; and during the publication of the two last volumes Mr. Rollin also published the first volume of the Roman History, of which five have already appeared, and the sixth and seventh are printed off, and wait only for the maps to be inserted in them. The eighth, and part of the ninth, are done, and come down as low as after the war with the Cimbri, which preceded the battle of Actium, where Mr. Rollin's design ended, only about seventy years. His illustrious pupils, whom he began to call his masters, cannot leave his work imperfect in any respect.

The publick will perhaps demand also of them the Latin orations of Mr. Rollin, because none of them are printed; and probably there is not one of them, that does not deserve it. If it were incumbent upon us to point out in the order of time all those, which are come to our knowledge, or of which the remembrance has been more happily preserved, there is one amongst the rest which we should not have forgot; this is that, which he pronounced in 1701, two years after his entrance into the College of Beauvais, upon the accession of Philip V. to the Crown of Spain. A little more care has been taken of his poems. They were

were inserted in 1727 in a select miscellany; and besides those we have already mentioned, there are a great number of equal spirit and beauty. If we were to decide the preference to any of them, his Latin translation of Mr. Boileau's ode upon taking of Namur would not want voices.

There are also many Epigrams, which have almost all of them their singularity. For instance, it would be difficult to find any thing, that seems so well to prove the quality of PROPHETS, commonly enough ascribed to poets, than that which he sent in 1695, the first year of his Principalship, to the grandson of Mr. Le Peletier, who was only in his sixth year. He sent him on Candlemass day in the name of the University, such a wax-candle as it is the custom to present the Premier Presidents; and told him in writing, that he should accustom himself to receiving that honour, that he should especially take care to make himself worthy of it, because that high office was a place which Themis herself assuredly allotted him, after she should have conferred it upon his Father.

*Ta manet hæc sedes: summum Themis ipsa Tribunal,
Vera cano, Patri destinat, inde tibi.*

Both were then very far from it; however the father was Premier President twelve years after, and the son is so now. In another Epigram Mr. Rollin makes a most ingenious allusion to his first business. He sends a knife

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for a new-years gift to one of his friends, and tells him, that if this present seems to come rather from Vulcan than the Muses, he ought not to wonder at it; because it was from the cave of the Cyclops, that he first set out towards Parnassus.

Two other pieces of Mr. Rollin have been printed separately: *Hendecasyllabæ*, addressed in 1691 to Father Jouvençy, upon his having lately published at Paris, on the taking of Montmelian, in the name of one of his scholars, the same copy of verses, which he had published before at Caen in his own name on the taking of Maëstrich in 1673. The second is *Santolius Pœnitens*, that made a great noise when it appeared; the French translation of which, ascribed to Mr. Racine, was afterwards found to have been done by Mr. Boivin junior. Santeuil's Epitaph, engraved in the Cloister of Saint Victor, is also Mr. Rollin's: and it is certain, that if his modesty had permitted him to esteem his Latin works as much as they deserved, that collection would very agreeably have concluded the new edition of his treatise upon studies and of his Antient History.

We have said nothing of the success his works have had, because their fame is still the subject every where, as well in foreign countries as in France. The Duke of Cumberland and the Princesses his sisters had always the first copies from the press; they being desirous to read them as soon as possible, and

and who could give the best account of them. The Prince said, *I know not how it is in Mr. Rollin; reflexions every where else seem tedious, and I turn them over with neglect; they charm me in his book, and I do not lose a single word of them.*

The Queen their mother, a little before her death, intended to correspond with him by letters, and had caused the most obliging things in the world to be said to him on that head. The letters of the prince Royal, now King of Prussia, highly graced this tribute of esteem. But when he had the goodness to notify his accession to the throne to him, amongst other learned men of the first rank, Mr. Rollin observed to him, that for the future he should have a due regard to his high occupations, and that having no longer any counsels to take but of his own glory, he would no longer have the honour to write to him.

The example of Princes is of great force. A poet famous for his works, and still more by his disgraces, the celebrated *Rousseau*, was also desirous of a correspondence with Mr. Rollin. He wrote him several letters; and inscribed Epistles in verse to him. Mr. Rollin did not think he ought to decline a commerce, in which he was in hopes of introducing reflexions of Christianity and Piety with success. Happy beginnings emboldened him to send the poet part of the Abbe Duguet's works, and the poet in return sent him his poems of

the Amsterdam Edition, but without the supplement, at which he was afraid the severe morality of Mr. Rollin might take offence. At length he came himself to Paris as much as possible *incognito*. He there saw Mr. Rollin almost every day, and would not set out on his return without reading his will to him. In it he had disowned in the strongest terms those immoral couplets, which were the first occasion of his misfortunes, and persisted in ascribing them to the person, he had at first charged with being their author. Mr. Rollin took him up short in this place: he urged with warmth, that the evidence of his own conscience sufficed to acquit him to himself; but that having no equivalent proof for charging any person whatsoever by name, he would at least render himself guilty in effect of a rash judgment, and perhaps of an horrid calumny. The poet had nothing to reply; and Mr. Rollin was extremely pleased with having made him strike out that article.

The King had nominated him a Fellow of this Academy on its re-establishment in 1701, and as he had not had time to render the College of Beauvais famous, that was little frequented before him, he did not foresee, that when it should be so, he would find himself engrossed there by so many different cares, that he could no longer discharge the functions of a Member of the Academy at pleasure. As soon as he perceived this, he de-

demanded to be superannuated; which was granted him with all the distinction he deserved; and he was however no less a lover of our exercises. He came hither as often as possible, to the publick assemblies especially; not only, said he, because more things were read in it, from which he might reap advantage, but also because it was a more express homage on his side. When he undertook his Antient History, he related the plan of it to the Academy; he asked its permission to make a free use of all that might be for his purpose in our printed memoirs, and to have recourse to those not yet in the press. At the same time he asked the Chancellor to appoint him a Censor of the academy, and that member happened to be one of his former pupils. And lastly it was not till after we had received a copy of each volume of his work, that the publick knew it was finished: and when he could not present it in person, he caused the greatest excuses to be made. The fifth Volume of his Roman History, which has lately appeared, was brought me in that manner for the Academy only three or four days before his death.

So many volumes published so soon after each other, fully demonstrated with what facility Mr. Rollin composed. No body doubted it: it was well known, that he was by nature extremely laborious, and that his zeal for the publick good was the strongest

of motives with him. But during a very long time he had wrote only in Latin, which seemed so much his natural language, that it was almost doubted whether he had any other; and he was above sixty years old when he began to write in French. The elegance and purity of his style were therefore new and unexpected objects: he seemed to have acquired them in an instant only from the desire of being more useful. The Academie Françoise itself has frequently testified this. But he thought so modestly of himself, that he always wondered he had ever become an author; and far from having taken any præmium for his works, of which the prodigious vent would have made the fortune of any other person, his sole concern was, on giving them the bookseller, how he should make him amends, if they had not a sufficient run.

This manner of thinking extended to every thing that had any relation to him. Neat about his person, more from habit and reason than from the least pains, he had the same funiture at his death, that he had caused to be made when he entered the college of Pleffis as Professor in 1683; and when retired into the remotest part of Paris, he lived in so small an house, that most of the strangers, whom his reputation drew thither, would willingly have wrote on his door, as on that of Erasmus, *Behold a little house, that contains*

tains a great man. His piety was warm, tender, and sincere: all that it becomes us to say of it, is, that nothing seemed little to him in Religion, and nothing great out of it.

He died the 14th of September 1741, at the age of fourscore years, seven months and some days.

of the work. On the contrary, by the disposition of the matter it was supposed, that this was the case, and which names were more than once. For this reason it was believed, that a list of all the years the Councils, contained the volume, in the order of insertion, would be agreeable to the reader in this place.

Q. PONTIFEX	A. R. 1741
I. MANUS	A. R. 1741
M. JONAS	A. R. 1741
A. MANUS	A. R. 1741
C. CLASSICUS	A. R. 1741
T. BARON	A. R. 1741
G. CORNELIUS	A. R. 1741
Q. PONTIFEX	A. R. 1741
P. MANUS	A. R. 1741
M. MANUS	A. R. 1741
S. PONTIFEX	A. R. 1741
M. MANUS	A. R. 1741
LIST	
A. R. 1741	

*LIST, of the Years and Consuls
contained in this Volume.*

AS in the space of time contained in this volume, several years are barren of facts, for want of authors that might have preserved them, the names of some Consuls are omitted in the course of the work. On the contrary, by the disposition of the matter it has happened, that there are Consuls whose names appear more than once. For this reason it was believed, that a list of all the years and Consuls contained in this volume, in the order of succession, would be agreeable to the reader in this place.

A. R. 573.
Ant.C. 179.

Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS.

A. R. 574.
Ant.C. 178.

M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.
A. MANLIUS VOLSO.

A. R. 575.
Ant.C. 177.

C. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.

A. R. 576.
Ant.C. 176.

CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO HISPALUS.
Q. PETILIUS SPURINUS.

A. R. 577.
Ant.C. 175.

P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS II.

A. R. 578.
Ant.C. 174.

SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.
M. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.

LIST of the CONSULE.

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L. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.	A. R. 579.
M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.	Ant.C. 173.
C. POPILIUS LÆNAS.	A. R. 580.
P. ÆLIUS LIGUR.	Ant.C. 172.
P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.	A. R. 581.
C. CASSIUS LONGINUS.	Ant.C. 171.
A. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.	A. R. 582.
A. ATILIUS SERRANUS.	Ant.C. 170.
Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS II.	A. R. 583.
CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.	Ant.C. 169.
L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS II.	A. R. 584.
C. LICINIUS CRASSUS.	Ant.C. 168.
Q. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.	A. R. 585.
M. JUNIUS PENNUS.	Ant.C. 167.
C. SULPICIUS GALLUS.	A. R. 586.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.	Ant.C. 166.
T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.	A. R. 587.
CN. OCTAVIUS.	Ant.C. 165.
A. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.	A. R. 588.
Q. CASSIUS LONGINUS.	Ant.C. 164.
TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.	A. R. 589.
M. JUVENCIUS THALNA.	Ant.C. 163.
P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.	A. R. 590.
C. MARCIUS FIGULUS.	Ant.C. 162.

These Consuls abdicated, to whom were substituted

	P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
	CN. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS.
A. R. 591. Ant.C. 161.	M. VALERIUS MESSALA.
	C. FANNIUS STRABO.
A. R. 592. Ant.C. 160.	L. ANICIUS GALLUS.
	M. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.
A. R. 593. Ant.C. 159.	CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.
	M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.
A. R. 594. Ant.C. 158.	M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
	C. POPILIUS LÆNAS.
A. R. 595. Ant.C. 157.	SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR.
	L. AURELIUS ORESTES.
A. R. 596. Ant.C. 156.	L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS LUPUS.
	C. MARCIUS FIGULUS II.
A. R. 597. Ant.C. 155.	P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA II.
	M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS II.
A. R. 598. Ant.C. 154.	Q. OPIMIUS.
	L. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.
A. R. 599. Ant.C. 153.	Q. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.
	T. ANNIUS LUSCUS.
A. R. 600. Ant.C. 152.	M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS III.
	L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

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L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.	A. R. 601.
A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.	Ant.C. 151.
T. QUINTIUS FLAMININUS.	A. R. 602.
M. ACILIUS BALBUS.	Ant.C. 150.
L. MARCIUS CENSORINUS.	A. R. 603.
M. MANILIUS.	Ant.C. 149.
SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.	A. R. 604.
C. CALPURNIUS PISO.	Ant.C. 148.
P. CORN. SCIP. AFRICAN. ÆMILIAN.	A. R. 605.
C. LIVIUS DRUSUS.	Ant.C. 147.
CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.	A. R. 606.
L. MUMMIUS.	Ant.C. 146.
Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS ÆMILIANUS.	A. R. 607.
L. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.	Ant.C. 145.
SER. SULPICIUS GALBA.	A. R. 608.
L. AURELIUS COTTA.	Ant.C. 144.
AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.	A. R. 609.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS MACEDON.	Ant.C. 143.
L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS CALVUS.	A. R. 610.
Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS SERVILIANUS.	Ant.C. 142.
CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.	A. R. 611.
Q. POMPEIUS.	Ant.C. 141.
C. LÆLIUS SAPIENS.	A. R. 612.
Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.	Ant.C. 140.

A. R. 613.
Ant. C. 139.

CN. CALPURNIUS PISO.
M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.

A. R. 614.
Ant. C. 138.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.
D. JUNIUS BRUTUS.

A. R. 615.
Ant. C. 137.

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
C. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.

A. R. 616.
Ant. C. 136.

P. FURIUS PHILUS.
SEX. ATILIUS SERRANUS.

A. R. 617.
Ant. C. 135.

SER. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
Q. CALPURNIUS PISO.

A. R. 618.
Ant. C. 134.

P. CORN. SCIPIO AFRICAN. ÆMILII.
C. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

A. R. 619.
Ant. C. 133.

P. MUCIUS SCAEVOLA.
L. CALPURNIUS PISO FRUGI.

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draws

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Ardyæni defeated, and subjected to the Romans.
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nicus.*

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and in which: then in the passage of time: and lastly,
 in view of the circumstances. We are, however, to
 give Othello's words, and against the whole, and
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 argument is stated, and referred to the Romans.
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BOOK



[1]

BOOK THE TWENTY FIFTH.

THE
ROMAN HISTORY.

THIS book contains the history of Perseus King of Macedonia, from the 573d year of Rome, in which he ascended the throne, to the 585th, when he was led in triumph by Paulus Æmilius.

SECT. I.

Design formed by Philip to transplant the Bastarnæ into the country of the Dardanians, bordering upon Macedonia. Ambassadors from Perseus to the Romans. The latter confirm the treaty made with Philip his father. Good beginnings, and virtuous qualities of Perseus. Ambassadors from the Dardanians to Rome concerning the Bastarnæ. Ambassadors from Perseus to Carthage. Report of the Roman Ambassadors at their return from Macedonia. Eumenes comes to Rome to exhort the Senate to the war with Perseus. That Prince's Ambassadors ill received. That Prince suborns murderers to kill Eumenes. The Senate, after having declared the crimes of Perseus, prepare for the war, and cause it to be declared against him by Ambassadors. Gentius becomes suspected by the Romans. Disposition of

the kingdoms and free states, in respect to the Romans and Perseus in the war of Macedonia. War declared in form against Perseus. The levies are made with extraordinary application. Dispute concerning the Centurions. Speech of an old Centurion to the People. Perseus's Ambassadors referred to the Consul, who is soon to repair to Macedonia. Ambassadors from the Romans to their allies. Interview of Perseus and the Roman Ambassadors. Truce granted Perseus, in order to his sending new Ambassadors to Rome. Commotions in Bæotia. Almost the whole province declares for the Romans. Succours supplied by the Achaian league. The Rhodians fit out a considerable fleet to join the Romans. Embassies of Perseus to Rhodes, Stratum of the Deputies censured by the antient Senators. The Ambassadors of Perseus receive orders to quit Rome and Italy.

IN the preceding volume I stopt at the death of Philip, whom his son Perseus succeeded in the kingdom of Macedonia. I afterwards, under different heads, united all the various events, that occurred, during the space of eleven years, with the reign of Perseus, without any relation to it, to avoid being obliged frequently to interrupt the chain of our history, and for the sake of relating it all together in its order, which will render it more clear and agreeable.

Q. FULVIUS.

L. MANLIUS.

Philip's death happened very opportunely for deferring the war, menaced by the Romans, and for giving them time to prepare for it. That Prince had formed a strange design, and had began to put it in execution, this was to bring from the country

A. R. 573.
Ant. C. 179.
Design
formed by
Philip to
transplant
the Bastar-
næ into
the country
of the Dar-
danians,
bordering
upon Ma-
cedonia.
Liv. xl.
57.
Oros. iv.



FVLVIUS, MANLIUS, Consuls.

3

of the Bastarnæ, a nation either of the Gauls or Germans by origin, transplanted from near the mouths of the Boristhenès, a considerable number of troops both of infantry and cavalry. After they had passed the Danube, he was to settle them in the country of the Dardanians, whom he determined entirely to extirpate; because as they were very near neighbours to Macedonia, they did not fail to make irruptions into it, whenever favourable occasions offered. The Bastarnæ, leaving their wives and children in this new settlement, were to go to Italy to enrich themselves with the great spoils they were in hopes of making there. Whatever the success might be, Philip expected great advantages from it. If it should happen, that the Bastarnæ were overcome by the Romans, he should easily console himself for their defeat, by being delivered by their means from the dangerous neighbourhood of the Dardanians: and if their irruption into Italy succeeded, whilst the Romans were employed in repelling these new enemies, he should have time to recover all he had lost in Greece. The Bastarnæ had already began their march, and were considerably advanced in it, when they had received advice of Philip's death. This news, and various accidents, which befel them, suspended the execution of their design: and many of them entirely abandoned it, and returned home into their country.

Perseus, with the view of establishing himself better upon the throne, sent Ambassadors to the Romans to demand, that they would renew with him the alliance they had made with his father, and that the Senate should acknowledge him King. He only sought to gain time.

Ambassadors of Perseus to the Romans.
Liv. xl.
58.

JUNIUS, MANLIUS, Consuls.

M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.

A. R. 574-
Ant. C. 178.

A. MANLIUS VULSO.

*The Ro-
mans re-
new the
treaty
with Per-
seus, grant-
ed to Phi-
lip his fa-
ther.*

It was under these Consuls that Perseus's Ambassadors arrived at Rome. The Romans did not affect that Prince. They distrusted him, and did not doubt but upon the first favourable occasion, and when he was sufficiently strong, that he would proceed to the rupture, for which his father had made preparations during so many years, though he had industriously concealed his design. However, to avoid the reproach of having sought occasion of a breach during peace, they granted him all he demanded.

*Good be-
ginnings
and vir-
tuous qua-
lities of
Perseus.*

Perseus believing his power firmly established by the renewal of the treaty, applied himself solely in conciliating friends amongst the Greeks. With this view, he recalled into Macedonia all those who had quitted it, either to avoid paying their debts, or had been banished by sentence of the judges. He caused the edicts to this effect to be fixed up in the several cities of Greece, by which they were promised not only impunity, but the restitution of their estates, with the profits of them from the time each had withdrawn. He also remitted to all those who were actually in his dominions all that they were indebted to the revenue, and he set all such at liberty as were confined in the prisons for affairs of State. By this indulgence, he gained the confidence of infinite numbers, acquired the affection of all the Greeks, and filled them with the most grateful hopes. Besides which, his whole conduct, and all his attributes, seem to denote him a Prince worthy of reigning. His stature was advantageous, his physiognomy noble and engaging; and as he was in the vigour of life, he was capable of sustaining both the fatigues of war, and the weight

weight of application and government. With all this he did not abandon himself to those excesses of debauchery and licentiousness, by which his father had so often dishonoured himself. By these good appearances in the beginning of his reign, this Prince gave hopes, to which it were to be wished the end of it had answered.

A. R. 574.
Ant. C. 178.

CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO HISPALUS.

A. R. 576.
Ant. C. 176.

Q. PETILIUS SPURINUS.

Part of the Bastarnæ, of whom we have spoken before, had pursued their route, and were actually at war with the Dardanians. The latter sent Ambassadors to Rome, to inform the Senate, "That their province was over-run by swarms of Barbarians of gigantick stature and extraordinary valour, with whom Perseus had made a treaty of alliance. That they apprehended that Prince more than the Bastarnæ. That they were come to implore the aid of the Commonwealth against such enemies." The Senate sent Deputies into the country, with A. Postumius at the head of them, to enquire into the foundation of these complaints.

Ambassadors from the Dardanians to Rome concerning the Bastarnæ. Polyb. Legat. 62.

P. MUCIUS.

A. R. 577.
Ant. C. 175.

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS II.

These Deputies having found the affair, as the Dardanians had related it, made their report accordingly to the Senate. Perseus excused himself by his Ambassadors, and affirmed, that it was not he, who had called in those Barbarians, and that he had not any share in their enterprize. The Senate, without entering any farther into the matter, contented themselves with ordering him to be told, that he should take care inviolably to observe

A. R. 577. the conditions of the treaty made with the Ro-
 Ant.C. 173. mans. The Bastarnæ, after having had some first
 advantages, were at length obliged, at least the
 greatest part of them, to return into their own
 country. It is said, that having found the Danube
 froze over, in their attempt to pass it, the ice gave
 Oros. iv. way, and almost all of them were swallowed up
 20. by the river. This fact, which has no other au-
 thority but that of Orosius, perhaps requires a
 better.

A. R. 578.
 Ant.C. 174.

SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.

Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.

Liv. xli.
 22.

The Ambassadors sent by the Romans into A-
 frica, after having conferred with King Masinissa,
 and gone from his Court to Carthage, returned to
 Rome. They had been much better informed by
 that Prince of what passed at Carthage, than by the
 Carthaginians themselves. However notwith-
 standing all the disguise, with which they had been
 treated, they had discovered with certainty, that
 Ambassa- Ambassadors from Perseus had been there, and that
 dors from the Senate of Carthage had given them audience in
 Perseus to the night in the temple of Æsculapius. Masinissa
 Carthage. had besides assured them, that the Carthaginians, on
 their part, had sent some to Macedonia, and the
 Carthaginians but faintly denied it. It was judged
 proper to send Deputies into Macedonia, to have a
 watchful eye over the King's conduct.

A. R. 579.
 Ant.C. 173.

Report of
 the Roman
 Ambassa-
 dors at

L. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.

M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.

their re-
 turn from
 Macedo-
 nia.

Liv. xlii.
 2.

These Ambassadors on their return reported,
 that they could not have access to the King, who
 had always kept at a distance, under false pretexts,
 either of indisposition or absence. That for the
 rest

rest it plainly appeared to them, that every thing was preparing for war, and that it ought to be expected every day. Accordingly, dispositions were made for it at Rome, which began by religious ceremonies, that amongst the Romans, always preceded declarations of war; that is, by expiation of prodigies, and different sacrifices offered to the gods.

A. R. 579.
Ant. C. 173.

C. POPILIUS LÆNAS.

P. ÆLIUS LIGUR.

A. R. 580.
Ant. C. 172.

Under these Consuls, who were both Plebeians, Eumenes King of Pergamus, came to Rome. He was received with all possible marks of distinction. He declared, “ that besides his desire to come to Rome to pay his homage to the gods and men, to whom he owed a powerful and glorious establishment that left him nothing to wish, he had expressly undertaken this voyage to apprise the Senate, to be upon their guard against the enterprizes of Perseus. That that Prince had inherited his father Philip’s hatred for the Romans, as well as his crown; and that he neglected no preparations for a war, which was in a manner descended to him by right of inheritance. That the long peace Macedonia had enjoyed, supplied him with numerous troops in very good condition: that he had a rich and powerful kingdom: that himself was in the flower of life; full of ardor for military expeditions, to which he had been enured in the fight, and under the conduct of his father, and in which he had been much exercised since by various expeditions against his neighbours. That he was highly considered in the cities of Greece and Asia, without its being easy to say by what kind of desert he had acquired such credit, except it was by his enmity

Eumenes comes to Rome to exhort the Senate to the war with Perseus.
Liv. xlii.
12, 13.

A. R. 580.
Ant. C. 172.

“ for the Romans. That the most powerful Kings
 “ fought his alliance. That he had espoused the
 “ daughter of Seleucus, and given Prusias his sister
 “ in marriage. That he had known how to at-
 “ tach the Bœotians, a very warlike people,
 “ whom his father could never bring over to his
 “ interest: and that but for the opposition of some
 “ individuals well affected to the Romans, he
 “ would actually have re-established commerce with
 “ the Achaian league. That it was to Perseus, and
 “ not the Romans, that the Ætolians had applied
 “ for aid. That supported by such powerful allies,
 “ he was besides making such preparations of war,
 “ as enabled him to dispense with foreign assist-
 “ ance. That he had thirty thousand foot, five
 “ thousand horse, with provisions for ten years.
 “ That besides the immense revenues that he an-
 “ nually received from the mines, he had enough
 “ in his coffers to pay ten thousand foreign troops
 “ for the like number of years, without including
 “ the national forces. That he had laid up in his
 “ magazines sufficient arms for three such armies as
 “ he had actually on foot; and that though Ma-
 “ cedonia should not be in a condition to supply
 “ him with troops, he had Thrace at his devotion,
 “ which was an inexhaustible nursery of men.” Eu-
 “ menes added, “ That he advanced nothing on
 “ this occasion upon mere conjecture, but from
 “ his certain knowledge of facts from exact infor-
 “ mations. For the rest, said he, in concluding,
 “ after having acquitted myself of a duty, in which
 “ I was bound by my regard and gratitude for the
 “ Roman People, and having, if I may be allow-
 “ ed to use the expression, discharged my consci-
 “ ence: it only remains for me, to pray the gods
 “ to inspire you with such thoughts and designs,
 “ as suit the glory of your empire, and the safety
 “ of

"of your friends and allies, whose fate is attached
 "to yours."

A. R. 130.
 Ant. C. 172.

The Senators were much affected with this discourse. For the rest, what had passed in the Senate, was not known, except that King Eumenes had spoke in it; and nothing transpired abroad; such inviolable secrecy was observed by that wise Body, which consisted of no less than three hundred persons. It was not till after the war was terminated, that the discourse of that Prince, and the answer given him, were divulged. A great, extraordinary, and almost incredible example of discretion and wisdom.

Some days after audience was given the Ambassadors of Perseus. They found the Senate highly prejudiced against their master, and they scarce vouchsafed to hear them. Harpalus, the chief of the embassy, gave still greater offence by the haughtiness of his discourse. He said, "That Perseus, desired to be believed upon his own word, when he declared he had neither said or done any thing that could give cause to consider him as an enemy. That for the rest, if he perceived, that pretexts for a war were sought against him, he should know how to defend himself with courage. That the fortune of arms is always hazardous, and the event of war uncertain."

Ambassadors from Perseus ill received.

The cities of Greece and Asia, in pain for the effects which these embassies might produce at Rome, had also sent Deputies thither under different pretexts; the Rhodians especially, who apprehended, that Eumenes might have given them a place in his accusations against Perseus; and they were not mistaken. In an audience granted them, they inveighed violently against Eumenes, reproaching him with having made Lycia take arms against them, and that he had made himself more insupportable to Asia than Antiochus himself. This discourse

A. R. 580. course pleased the Asiaticks, who secretly favoured
 Ant. C. 172. Perseus; but was greatly disliked by the Senate,
 and had no other effect than to render the Rhodians suspected, and to augment their consideration for Eumenes by this kind of conspiracy which his attachment for the Romans drew upon him. They dismissed him with the highest honours and great presents.

*Perseus
 bribes assassins to
 kill Eumenes.*
 Liv. xlii.
 15.

Harpalus having returned to Macedonia with all possible diligence, reported to Perseus; that he had left the Romans in a disposition not long to delay making war upon him. The King was not in pain upon that head, believing himself in a condition, with the great preparations he had made, to sustain it with success. But he was most incensed against Eumenes, whom he suspected to have given Rome information of all his most secret measures; and it was against him, that he began to act, not by the method of arms, but by that of the vilest treachery. He ordered Evander of Crete, the General of his auxiliary troops, and three Macedonians, whom he had before employed on the like occasions, to assassinate that Prince. Perseus had been apprized that he was preparing for a journey to Delphi. The assassins seeing him in a very narrow cleft in the midst of mountains, rolled down two great stones, upon him from the eminence where they had placed themselves, and poured a great many smaller upon him, like hail, with which they intended to destroy him, after which they withdrew leaving him for dead. When the King, who was long without motion, and almost without life, was a little come to himself, his officers carried him bathed in his blood to Corinth, and from hence to the island of Ægina, where no pains were spared to cure his wounds: and when he was so well as to bear the sea, he returned to Pergamus. A woman, at whose house the assassins had lodged at Delphi, was carried to Rome,

Rome, and discovered the whole villany to the Senate. They were informed at the same time of a no less odious design formed by Perseus: this was to poison the Roman Generals and Ambassadors, who lodged together at Brindusium in the house of the principle citizen of that place, named L. Rammius. The King of Macedonia had endeavoured to engage this Rammius to do him so criminal a service. But Rammius, abhorring so black a design, informed the Romans of it.

The Senate, after being informed of such horrid facts, deliberated no longer, whether it was necessary to declare war against a Prince, who employed poison and assassination to rid himself of his enemies. The rest of this year was passed in making the necessary preparations for the success of this important enterprize. They began by sending Ambassadors to Perseus with the complaints of the Commonwealth, and to demand satisfaction of him. Seeing that they could not obtain audience during many days, they set out to return for Rome. The King caused them to be recalled. They represented to him, that by the treaty concluded with Philip his father, and since renewed with himself, it was stipulated in express terms, that he should neither make war out of his kingdom, nor attack the allies of the Roman People. They afterwards enumerated all his contraventions to this treaty, and demanded that he should restore to the allies all he had taken from them by force. The King replied only with passion and reproaches, complaining of the avidity and pride of the Romans, who treated Kings with insupportable haughtiness, and believed they had a right to give them the law like slaves. The Ambassadors insisting upon a positive answer, he referred them to the next day, when he would deliver it in writing. It was, "That the treaty concluded with his father, did not regard him. That if

A. R. 589.
Ant. C. 172.

The Senate after having declared the crimes of Perseus, prepares for war, and cause it to be declared by Ambassadors.
Liv. xlii.

25.

A. R. 580. " he had accepted it, it was not because he ap-
 Ant. C. 172. " proved it, but because he could not do other-
 " wise, not being well established upon his throne.
 " That if the Romans would consider of a new
 " treaty, and propose reasonable conditions, he
 " would deliberate upon what he should do."
 The King, after having delivered them this writing,
 retired abruptly. The Ambassadors declared to
 him, that the Roman People renounced his alliance
 and amity. He returned full of wrath, and in a
 menacing tone told them, they had to quit his
 kingdom within three days. On their return to
 Rome, they gave an account of all that had passed
 in their embassy; and added, they had observed
 in all the cities of Macedonia through which
 they passed, that great preparations were making
 for war.

*Gentius
 becomes
 suspected
 by the Ro-
 mans.
 Liv. xlii.
 26, 27.*

The report of the Deputies from Issa, who came
 at that time to the Senate, gave reason to fear also,
 that Gentius, King of the Illyrians, would declare
 against Rome. For, after having complained, that
 that Prince had ravaged their lands, they added,
 " That he lived in a strict union with the King of
 " Macedonia; that they were both preparing to
 " make war with the Romans; and that the Il-
 " lyrians, who were come to Rome with the seem-
 " ing quality of Ambassadors, were in reality only
 " spies sent by Gentius, to observe what passed
 " there." The Illyrians were sent for: and as
 their answer confirmed this suspicion, they were dis-
 missed, and the Senate appointed Deputies to go
 and complain in their name of the grievances, with
 which the allies charged Gentius.

At the same time it was resolved to begin the
 war in earnest with Perseus: and till greater forces
 could be assembled and set out under the command
 of a Consul, the Prætor Cn. Sicinius was sent into
 Mace-

Macedonia with some sea and land troops, sufficient to keep the King in alarm, and to open the enterprize.

A. R. 580.
Ant. C. 172.

P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

A. R. 581.
Ant. C. 171.

C. CASSIUS LONGINUS.

All the Kings and States both of Europe and Asia, had their eyes turned upon the two potent nations, that were upon the point of entering into a war.

Disposition of the Kings and free States, in regard to the Ro-

Eumenes was actuated by an ancient hatred for Perseus, and still more by the atrocious attempt lately committed against his person in his journey to Delphi.

mans and Perseus, in the war of Macedo-

Prusias, King of Bithynia, had resolved to remain neuter, and to wait the event. He flattered himself, that the Romans would not insist upon his taking arms in their favour against his wife's brother; and he was in hopes, if Perseus were victorious, that that Prince would easily suffer himself to be swayed by the intreaties of his sister.

nia. Liv. xlii. 29, 30.

Ariarathes, King of Cappadocia, besides having promised the Romans aid, inviolably adhered, both in war and peace, to the side espoused by Eumenes, after he had contracted affinity with him, by giving him his daughter in marriage.

Antiochus conceived thoughts of possessing himself of Egypt, relying upon the weakness of the minor King, and the indolence and cowardice of his guardians. He imagined, that he had found a plausible pretext for making war upon that Prince, by disputing Coelo Syria with him, and flattered himself, that the Romans, employed in the war of Macedonia, would not be any obstacle to his ambitious designs. In the mean time he had offered the Senate, by his Ambassadors, all his forces for the service of the Commonwealth; and he had repeated

A. R. 581.
Ant. C. 171.

peated the same promise to the Ambassadors Rome had sent to him.

Ptolemy, through the weakness of his age, was not in a condition to dispose of himself. His guardians prepared for the war with Antiochus, to secure the possession of Cœlo-Syria, and promised the Romans every thing for the war of Macedonia.

Masinissa aided the Romans with corn, troops, and elephants; and intended to send his son Massagenes to this war. His plan and political views, according to the different events, which this war might have, were as follows. Masinissa was desirous to ruin the power of the Carthaginians. If the Romans were victorious, his design was to remain in the state he then was without going further, because the Romans would never suffer him to reduce the Carthaginians to extremities. If, on the contrary, the Roman power, which alone, through policy, prevented him from extending his conquests, and which then supported Carthage, should be worsted, he assured himself of the conquest of all Africa.

Gentius, King of Illyricum, had only rendered himself more suspected by the Romans, without knowing however which side to take; and it seemed as if this would be the occasion, rather than a fixed plan and concerted design, to determine him to espouse either the one or the other.

And lastly, Cotys of Thrace, King of the Odrysæ, had declared openly for the Macedonians.

Such was the disposition of the Kings in respect to the war between Perseus and the Romans.

As to what regards the free States and cities, the multitude almost every where, who usually take the worst side, inclined to that of the King and the Macedonians. The opinions of the principal citizens of those States and cities were in a manner divided into three classes.

Some

Some so servilely gave into the Roman side, that they lost all credit and authority with their fellow citizens in effect of so blind a devotion, and so avowed a partiality: and of these, few were swayed by the justice of the Roman government; the major part regarded only their own interest; convinced, that they should be considered, and have credit in their cities only in proportion to the services they should render the Romans.

The second class was of those, who were absolutely devoted to the King: some, because their debts and the bad state of their affairs made them desire change, not believing it possible to subsist without some revolution; others, because their natural vanity, and fondness for noise and ostentation, determined them to side with the multitude, who had openly declared in favour of Perseus.

A third class, and this was the most prudent and judicious, if it had been absolutely necessary to take either side, and they had been at liberty to chuse their master, would have preferred the Romans to the King: but they desired still much rather, if that had been possible, that neither of the two powers should much augment their strength by the reduction of the other, and that retaining a kind of equality and balance, they should continue at peace with each other; because in that one case of the two taking the weak States under its protection, which the other might be for oppressing, would render their condition much more tranquil and secure. In this kind of indeterminate neutrality, they considered, as from a place of safety, the battles and dangers of those, who had joined either with the one or the other. We shall see, after the war is terminated, that they were much mistaken in believing themselves safe by this conduct.

The

A. R. 581.
 Ant. C. 371.
 War is de-
 clared in
 form a-
 gainst Per-
 seus. The
 levies are
 made with
 extraordi-
 nary at-
 tention.
 Liv. xlii.
 30, 31.

The Romans, after having discharged, according to their laudable custom, all the duties of religion, offered publick prayers and sacrifices to the gods, and made vows to them for the success of the enterprise for which they had been so long preparing, declared war in form against Perseus King of Macedonia, if he did not make immediate satisfaction in respect to different grievances, which had already been insisted upon more than once. The levies were made with more care than ever. The two legions which were to serve in Macedonia, consisted each of six thousand foot and three hundred horse, whereas the ordinary legions were only of five thousand two hundred foot; the number of horse was always the same. The Consul also, who was to command in this war, was allowed to incorporate into his army all the veteran Centurions and Soldiers he should think fit to chuse, to fifty years of age. And lastly, the People, in consequence of a decree of the Senate, ordained, that the legionary Tribunes should be chosen this year, not by the suffrages of the citizens, according to the usual custom, but by the Consuls and Prætors. All these precautions were highly advantageous to the legions intended for Macedonia, and shewed how important this war was deemed.

The Consuls having drawn lots, Macedonia fell to Licinius, and Cassius his Collegue remained in Italy.

Dispute
 concerning
 the Centu-
 rions.
 Liv. xlii.
 32—35.

What had lately been decreed in respect to the Centurions, gave occasion for a considerable dispute. I have * observed elsewhere, that there were two Centuries, and consequently two Centurions in each maniple. He who commanded the first century of the first maniple of the † *Triarii*, was the most

* *Antient History. Vol. XI.* of which each legion was composed, and which, in battle, *Triarii* were three bodies of troops were drawn up in three lines.

considerable of all the Centurions, and was admitted to the councils of war with the principal officers. The other Centurions, or Captains, were also distinguished by the rank of their companies, in the different orders of the legion: and the first Captains of the *Hastati* and *Principes* were good posts. They rose from an inferior to a superior rank, not only by seniority but merit.

A. R. 581.
Ant. C. 171.

This distinction of ranks and posts of honour, which was bestowed only on valour and real services, occasioned an incredible emulation amongst the troops, that kept every thing in exercise and order. A private soldier became a Centurion, and rising afterwards through all the different ranks, was capable of advancing himself to the principal posts. This view, this hope, sustained them in the midst of the rudest fatigues, animated them, prevented them from committing faults or disgusting the service, and carried them on to the greatest actions of valour. And this is the manner of forming invincible troops.

Hitherto we have seen no example amongst the Roman officers of piquing themselves upon always retaining the rank to which they had once been raised. On the contrary it is manifest, that they rolled between different posts, sometimes superior, sometimes inferior, at the General's discretion; every one thinking himself honoured in serving his country in any rank whatsoever. A niceness in this point of honour shewed itself for the first time on the present occasion. Whilst the Consul Licinius, (whom the Senate had impowered to recal into the service as many of the veteran Centurions and Soldiers, as he should think fit, of the number of those under fifty years of age) was intent upon this choice, twenty-three Centurions, who had been *Primpili*, refused to serve, except in the same rank they had held in preceding campaigns.

A. R. 581.
Ant. C. 171.

The affair was brought before the Tribunes of the People. M. Popillius, who had been Consul two years before, taking upon him to speak in favour of the Centurions, represented, "that those veteran officers, besides having served their full term of years, (*Emeriti*) were worn out with age, and the fatigues they had undergone during a great number of years. That however, they were ready to devote the rest of their lives to the Commonwealth, provided their condition was not worse than it had been, nor their rank inferior to that they had held in their last service."

The Consul represented on his side, "That the Centurions had no pretence for making such a demand, and that it was contrary to the right which he had by his office to distribute the posts of honour according to merit; and as a proof of this, he caused the decree of the Senate to be read, which ordained, that he should list as great a number of the veteran Centurions as he could, and that no one should be exempt from the service, except he was above fifty years of age: a decree, which did not say one word of the new pretension of the Centurions." He concluded with desiring the Tribunes of the People, not to interrupt the legionary Tribunes in the levies they were to make, and not to oppose the Consul, when he should assign each officer the rank and employment, in which he should judge him most fit to serve the Commonwealth."

*Discourse
of an old
Centurion
to the Peo-
ple.*

After the Consul had spoke, Spurius Ligustinus, one of the Centurions, who had implored the aid of the Tribunes of the People, desired permission of the Consul and those Tribunes to speak his sense to the People; which being granted, he said as follows. *Romans, I am called Sp. Ligustinus. I am of the tribe Crustumina, of the country of the Sabines. My father left me an acre of land, and a small cottage,*

cottage, where I was born, and brought up; and where I now live. As soon as I was of age to marry, he gave me his brother's daughter for my wife. She brought me no portion but liberty, chastity, and a fecundity that would suit the greatest houses. We have six sons, and two daughters both married. Of my six sons, four have taken the robe of manhood, (toga virilis) and the two others still wear the * Prætexta. I began to bear arms in the Consulship of P. Sulpicius and C. Aurelius. I served two years as a private soldier, in the army sent into Macedonia against King Philip. The third year, T. Quintius Flamininus, to reward me for my courage, made me a Captain of the century in the last maniple of the Hastati. I afterwards served as a Voluntier in Spain under the Consul M. Porcius Cato; and that General, who is so good a judge of merit, deemed me worthy of being placed at the head of the first maniple of the Hastati. I again became a private Voluntier in the army sent against Antiochus and the Ætolians; and it was in this war, that Manius Acilius made me first Centurion of the first maniple of the Principes. I have since made several campaigns, and in no great number of years I have been four times Primipilus, and I have been rewarded four and thirty times by the Generals. I have received six † Civic crowns. I have served two and twenty campaigns, and am above fifty years old. Though I had not served out my term of years in the field, though my age did not give me my discharge, being capable of substituting four of my sons in my stead, I should well deserve to be exempted from the necessity of serving. But in all that I have said, I have no view but to shew the justice of my cause. For the rest, as long as those, who make the levies, shall judge me in a condition to

* Prætexta. A robe bordered with purple, which children wore to the age of seventeen, when they took the Toga virilis.

† These were crowns of oak leaves given for saving a citizen's life in battle.

A. R. 581.
Ant. C. 171.

bear arms, I shall not refuse the service. The legionary Tribunes shall place me in what rank they think fit; that is their part: mine is to act, that no one may be ranked above me for courage, as I still retain that, and do not fear to call for witnesses of it on this occasion, as well the Generals, under whom I have served, as all my fellow soldiers. As to you, Centurions, who are in the same cause with myself, though you as well as I have implored the aid of the Tribunes of the People, as however during your youth you never opposed the authority of the Magistrates and Senate, I should think that it were consistent at your years to shew yourself obedient to the Senate and Consuls, and to think any post honourable, that will enable you to render the Commonwealth service.

When Ligustinus had done speaking, the Consul, after having given him the highest praises before the People, quitted the Assembly, and carried him into the Senate. Publick thanks were there given him in the name of that august Body, and the legionary Tribunes, as a mark and reward of his valour and zeal, appointed him *Primipilus*, that is to say, the post of first Centurion in the first legion. The rest of the Centurions, following his example, desisted from their appeal, and made no farther difficulty to obey.

Nothing gives us a more just idea of the Roman genius than facts of this kind. What a fund of good sense, equity, and even greatness of mind, appear in this soldier? He speaks of his poverty without shame, and of his glorious services without vanity. He is not tenacious improperly of a false point of honour. He modestly asserts his rights, and gives them up. He teaches all ages not to dispute against their country, and to make their private interests give place to the publick good; and he is so happy as to bring over all those into his sentiments, who were in the same case with himself, and had

had joined him. Of what force is example! One well-disposed and wise person is sometimes all that is wanting, to bring over many to the side of reason. A. R. 581.
Ant. C. 171.

About the time of which we are speaking, arrived Ambassadors from Perseus, who said, that their master was much astonished that troops had been sent to Macedonia; and that he was ready to give the Senate all the satisfaction which could be required of him. As it was known, that Perseus only sought to gain time, they were answered, that the Consul Licinius would soon arrive with his army in Macedonia, and that if the King desired peace in earnest, he might make his proposals to him: but that he should not think of sending any new Ambassadors into Italy, where they would be received no more: and for themselves, they were ordered to quit it in twelve days. Ambassadors from Perseus referred to the Consul, who, was soon to go to Macedonia. Liv. xlix. 36.

The Romans omitted nothing that might contribute to the success of their enterprise. They sent Ambassadors into all parts of Greece, to animate and strengthen such of their allies as had constantly adhered to them, to determine such as were fluctuating and uncertain, and to intimidate those who appeared ill-affected. Ambassadors of the Romans to the allies. Ibid. 37, 38.

Whilst two of these Ambassadors, Marcius and Atilius, were at Larissa in Thessaly, Envoys arrived there from Perseus, who had orders to address themselves particularly to Marcius, to put him in mind of the antient union and friendship, that had subsisted between that Roman's father and King Philip, and to ask an interview between him and their master. Marcius answered, that he had indeed often heard his father speak of the friendship and hospitality between him and King Philip, and he named a place near the river Peneus for the interview. They repaired thither some days after. The King had a great train, and was surrounded Interview of Perseus and the Roman Ambassadors. Liv. xlii. 39—42.

A. R. 581.
Ant. C. 171.

with a crowd of his Lords and guards. The Ambassadors were as well attended, many of the citizens, and of the deputies from other States, who had repaired thither, making it a duty to follow them, and the rather as they were glad of an occasion to carry home what they might see and hear. Besides which people were curious to be present at this interview between a great King, and Ambassadors from the most powerful people of the earth.

After some difficulties, which arose concerning the ceremonial, and which were soon removed in favour of the Romans, they proceeded to confer. The reception was very obliging on both sides. They did not treat each other as enemies, but rather as friends, united by the sacred ties of hospitality. Marcius, who spoke first, "began by excusing himself for the unhappy necessity he was under of reproaching a Prince for whom he had an high regard. He afterwards enumerated at large the subjects of complaint which the Roman People formed against him, and the different violations of treaties committed by Perseus. He dwelt strongly upon the attempt upon the life of Eumenes; and concluded with declaring, that he should be very glad if the King could supply him with good reasons for his conduct, and enable him to plead his cause, and entirely justify him before the Senate."

Perseus, after having slightly touched upon the affair of Eumenes, which he was surprized any one should presume to impute to him without any proofs, rather than to the many other enemies of that Prince, entered as to the rest into a long detail, and replied as well as he could to all the heads of the accusation against him. *What I can affirm*, said he in concluding, *is, that I cannot reproach myself with having knowingly and with deliberate design committed any wrong against the Romans;*

and

and if I have done any thing through inattention, ap-
prized as I have just been of it, it is in my power to
amend it. Certain it is, that I have done nothing to
deserve to be pursued with such irreconcilable hatred as
I am by you, in supposing me, as it seems, guilty of
the most enormous and atrocious crimes, that can nei-
ther be expiated nor pardoned. It is with little founda-
tion, that the clemency and goodness of the Roman Peo-
ple is universally cried up, if for such slight subjects,
which scarce deserve to be repeated, you take up arms,
and make war against Kings, who are your allies.

The result of the conference was, that Perseus ^{Truce}
should send new Ambassadors to Rome, in order ^{granted to}
to try all possible methods to prevent a rupture and ^{Perseus for}
open war. This was a snare laid for the King by ^{sending}
the Ambassador to gain time. At first he affected ^{new Am-}
to find great difficulties in respect to the truce, ^{bassadors}
which Perseus demanded for sending Ambassadors ^{to Rome.}
to Rome, and seeming at length to come into it ^{Ibid. 43:}
only out of consideration for the King. He how-
ever desired it, and the interest of the Romans
made it necessary. They had at this time neither
troops nor General in a condition to act; whereas
on the side of Perseus every thing was ready, and
if he had not been blinded by a vain hope of peace,
he ought to have seized the present moment so fa-
vourable to him, and so much against the enemy,
and have taken the field immediately.

After this interview, the Roman Ambassador ^{Commo-}
went to Bœotia, where great commotions had been ^{tions in}
fomented, some declaring for Perseus, others for ^{Bœotia.}
the Romans, but at length the party of the latter ^{It declares}
prevailed. The Thebans, and by their example ^{almost en-}
almost all the other States of Bœotia, made an al- ^{tirely for}
liance with the Roman People, each by their res- ^{the Ro-}
pective Deputies, (for the Romans chose that me- ^{mans.}
thod) and not by the consent of the whole body ^{Liv. xlii.}
of the nation, according to the antient custom. ^{43, 44.}
^{Polyb.}
^{Legat. 63.}

A. R. 581.
Ant. C. 171.

Thus the Bœotians, for having rashly espoused the part of Perseus, after having long formed a Republic, which on different occasions, had happily delivered itself from the greatest perils, saw themselves disunited, and governed by as many Councils, as there were cities in the province. For after that time, they all remained independent of each other, and no longer formed one league, as before. And this was an effect of the Roman Policy, which divided them to weaken them, knowing it was thereby much more easy to influence and subject them, than if they had continued united together.

Aid supplied by the Achæan league.
Liv. *ibid.*

From Bœotia the Deputies went to Peloponnese. The assembly of the Achæan league was summoned to Argos. They demanded a thousand men only to garrison Chalcis, till the Roman army arrived in Greece; and those thousand men were sent thither immediately. Marcius and Atilius, having terminated the affairs of Greece, returned to Rome in the beginning of the winter.

The Rhodians fit out a considerable fleet for the Romans.
Liv. xlii. 42.
Polyb. Legat. 64.

About the same time, Rome again sent Deputies into the most considerable islands of Asia, to exhort them to give her a powerful aid in the war with Perseus. The Rhodians signalized themselves on this occasion. Hegesilocus, who was then *Prætanis*, (chief Magistrate) had disposed the people, and represented, that it was necessary to efface by actions, and not merely by words, all the bad impressions, with which Eumenes had endeavoured to prejudice the Romans in respect to their fidelity. Accordingly, on the arrival of the Ambassadors, they shewed them a fleet of forty gallies entirely equipped, and ready to put to sea on the first order. So agreeable a surprize gave the Romans great pleasure, who returned from thence extremely satisfied with so distinguished a zeal, which had even prevented their demands.

Perseus, in consequence of his interview with
Marcius,

Marcus, sent Ambassadors to Rome to negotiate the treaty of peace, which he supposed he had begun in that conference. At the same time he wrote to different States an account of what had passed in the interview, giving things such a turn, as seemed to leave the advantage on his side. He did more in respect to the Rhodians. He dispatched an embassy to them, to exhort them to remain neuter, and to wait the event of affairs as mere spectators. *Embassies from Perseus to Rhodes.* Liv. xlii. 46. Polyb. Legat. 65. If the Romans, contrary to treaties, attack me, you will, said he to them, be mediators between them and me. That office suits no people better than the Rhodians. Defenders, as you are, not only of your own liberty, but of that of all Greece; the higher you rise in glory and power above all the rest, the more interest you have in maintaining the balance. You (a) well know, that to make the Greeks depend upon a single people, without leaving them any resource, is to reduce them into real slavery. The Ambassadors were received with politeness; but the answer was, "that in case of war, which they hoped would not happen, they desired the King not to rely upon the Rhodians, and to demand nothing of them, that might interfere with the alliance, which they had made with the Romans." The same Ambassadors went to Boeotia, where they had little reason to be better satisfied, except in respect to some small cities, that separated from the Thebans to embrace the King's party.

Marcus and Atilius at their return to Rome reported their commission to the Senate. What they dwelt most upon, was the stratagem and address, with which they had over-reached Perseus, in concluding a truce with him, that made him incapable *Stratagem of the Deputies condemned by the old Senators.* Liv. xlii. 47.

(a) Cum cæterorum id interesse, tum præcipuè Rhodiorum, quo plus inter alias civitates dignitate atque opibus ex-

cellant: quæ serva atque obnoxia fore si nullus aliò sit quam ad Romanos respectus.

A. R. 581.
Ant. C. 171.

of beginning the war then, as he might have done to his advantage, and gave the Romans time entirely to compleat their preparations, and to take the field. They did not forget to boast their address in disuniting the General Assembly of the Bœotians, and in laying those States under the impossibility of joining again to make an alliance with the Macedonians.

The majority of the Senate were well pleased with so prudent a conduct, which argued profound policy, and uncommon dexterity in transacting affairs. But the old Senators, who had been educated in other principles, and adhered to the maxims of antient times, said, "that they did not see the Roman character in such conduct. That their ancestors, relying more upon true valour than fraud, used to make war openly, and not by undermining. That such mean and unworthy artifices should be left to the Carthaginians and Greeks, with whom it was more glorious to deceive an enemy, than to conquer him sword in hand. That indeed stratagem sometimes, at the instant it was necessary, seemed to succeed better than valour: but that a victory openly gained in battle, wherein the forces on both sides were tried, and which the enemy could ascribe neither to chance nor fraud, was of a much more permanent duration; because it left in the mind a conviction of the superiority of the forces and valour on the side of the victor."

Notwithstanding the remonstrances of the antient Fathers, who could not relish these new maxims of policy, the part of the Senate, that preferred the useful to the honest, had sufficient credit to cause it to pass by a plurality of voices, that Marcius's embassy should be approved, and that he should be sent back into Greece with power to compleat what he had begun, and to do every thing that he should judge necessary for the good of the Commonwealth.

Aulus

Aulus Atilius was also sent into Thessalia, to se-
cure Larissa, left upon the expiration of the truce
Perseus might make himself master of that impor-
tant place, which was the capital of the country.
At the same time Lentulus was sent to Thebes, to
have an eye over Bœotia.

Though the war with Perseus was determined at
Rome, the Senate gave audience to his Ambassa-
dors. They repeated almost the same reasons,
which that Prince had used in the conference with
Marcius, and endeavoured to justify their master,
principally in respect to the black attempt he was
accused to have committed upon the person of Eu-
menes, but without being able to convince the Se-
nators of his innocence, the fact being too notorious
to be palliated. The rest of their discourse was
confined to very humble intreaties; but every body
was so prejudiced in respect to them, that far from
suffering themselves to be moved by their supplica-
tions, they would scarce give them the hearing.
They were ordered to quit the city immediately,
and all Italy, in the space of thirty days.

The Consul Licinius, who was to command in
Macedonia, had orders to prepare to set out assoon
as possible with his army. The Prætor C. Lucre-
tius, who had the command of the fleet, set out
with forty-five galleys, and in five days arrived
from Naples at Cephalenia, where he waited the ar-
rival of the land-forces.

S E C T. II.

*Departure of the Consul Licinius. Perseus holds a
council, in which the war is resolved. He assembles
his troops and harangues them. He takes the
field, and stops in Thessaly. The Consul moves thi-
ther also. Eumenes joins the Consul. Slight skir-
mish. Action of the cavalry, in which Perseus has
the*

the advantage. The Consul makes his troops pass the River Peneus in the night, to post them in safety. Perseus perceives the errors he has committed. Grief and shame of the Romans. Joy and triumph of Perseus and his army. He sends to demand peace of the Consul. Upon his answer, he prepares again for the war. Want of prudence in Perseus. The Greeks applaud the victory of that Prince. Taking of Haliartus. The two armies, after some slight expeditions, retire into winter-quarters. Epirus declares against the Romans. Livy's opinion concerning prodigies. Expedition of Perseus against Illyricum. Sordid avarice of that Prince. The Romans are received into Stratus instead of Perseus. The Consul Marcius advances towards Macedonia. Succours prepared by the Achæans for the Consul. Perseus posts bodies of troops in the passes of the mountains. Marcius marches through ways of incredible difficulty. Manner in which the elephants are made to descend from the steep declivity of the mountains. Polybius tells the Consul the offers of the Achæans. He sets out on his return to Achaia. Extreme terror of the King on the approach of the enemy. The Council enters Macedonia. Various expeditions. Return of Polybius into Achaia. Prusias and the Rhodians send Ambassadors to Rome in favour of Perseus. The Senate's answer to the insolent discourse of the Rhodians. Letters of the Consul Marcius to the Senate. Onesimus a Macedonian Nobleman goes over to the Romans.

A. R. 581.
Ant. C. 171.
*Departure
of the Con-
sul Lici-
nius.
Liv. xlii.
49.*

THE Consul Licinius, after having offered his vows to the gods in the Capitol, set out from the city in the usual robe (*paludamentum*.) This ceremony of the Consul's departure, says Livy, was always attended with great solemnity, and an incredible concourse of the people, especially on an important war, and against a formidable enemy. Besides

Besides the interest, which many individuals might take to themselves in the glory of the Consul who sets out, the citizens are attracted to this fight by their curiosity to see the General, to whose conduct and courage they confide the fate of the Commonwealth. A thousand anxious thoughts occur then to their minds concerning the success of the war, which is always doubtful and uncertain. They represent to themselves the defeats, which have happened through the ignorance and temerity of Generals; and on the contrary, the victories, which have been gained by their valour and good conduct. *What mortals, say they, can know the fate of the Consul, who is upon the point of setting out, and whether they shall see him return with his victorious army, and ascend in triumph to the same Capitol from whence he departs, after having offered in it his prayers to the gods; or whether the enemy will not have that cause for rejoicing?* The antient glory of the Macedonians, that of Philip, who had rendered himself famous by the war he had made with the Romans, highly exalted the reputation of Perseus; and every body was sensible, that from his ascending the throne an approaching war had been universally expected. Full of these thoughts, the citizens in a throng conducted him out of the city. C. Claudius and Q. Mucius, who had both been Consuls, and consequently had commanded armies, did not think it degraded them to serve under him as legionary Tribunes, (that is much the same as our Colonels or Brigadiers) and set out with the Consul. Three other illustrious young Romans were remarkable amongst the legionary Tribunes; Publius Lentulus, and two called Manlius Acidinus. Licinius repaired with them to Brundisium, which was the rendezvous of the army; and having passed the sea with all his troops, he arrived at Nymphæum, in the country of the Apollonians.

Some

A. R. 587.
Ant. C. 171.

A.R. 581.
 Ant.C. 171.
Perseus
holds a
council, in
which
war is re-
solved.
 Liv. xlii.
 50.

Some few days before, Perseus, in consequence of the report of his Ambassadors at their return from Rome, who assured him that it was in vain to hope for peace, held a great council. Opinions were divided in it. Some believed it necessary, either to pay a tribute, if required, or to cede some part of his dominions, if the Romans insisted upon it; in a word, to suffer, for obtaining peace, all that might be supportable, rather than expose his person and kingdom to the danger of entire ruin. That if part of his dominions were left him, time and occasion might produce favourable conjunctures, which might enable him, not only to recover all he should have lost, but render him formidable to those, who now made Macedonia tremble.

The majority were of a very different opinion. They maintained, that if he ceded every so little, " he should resolve to lose his whole kingdom. " That it was neither money nor tracts of land, " that the Roman ambition had in view. That " they aspired at universal sovereignty and domi- " nion. That they knew the greatest kingdoms and " the most powerful States were subject to many " revolutions. That they had subverted the " power of the Carthaginians, and set up over their " heads and in their neighbourhood a potent and " warlike King. That they had driven Antiochus " and his posterity beyond mount Taurus. That " there was no longer any kingdom, but Macedo- " nia, capable of giving the Romans umbrage, " because, being situated in their neighbourhood, " it could, on the first blow they might receive, " resume its pristine vigour, and revive in its " Kings the loftiness and ambition of their pre- " decessors. That he had now to consider, whilst " he had yet time, whether, by ceding different " parts of his dominions one after another, he " would

" would see himself at length deprived of his whole A. R. 581.
 " power, driven out of the kingdom of his an- Ant. C. 171.
 " cestors, and obliged to ask the Romans as a fa-
 " vour, permission to confine himself in Samothra-
 " cia, or in some other island, there to pass the rest
 " of his days in contempt and misery, with the
 " grief of surviving his glory and empire; or
 " whether he would chuse, by taking arms for the
 " defence of his fortunes and glory, to expose him-
 " self valiantly to all that it might please the gods
 " to ordain in respect to his fate; and in case he
 " should be victorious, to have the glory of de-
 " livering the Universe from the yoke of the Ro-
 " mans. That he might drive them out of Greece,
 " as they had driven Hannibal out of Italy. That
 " it would be the highest disgrace for Perseus,
 " after having defended his kingdom with valour,
 " against a brother who had unjustly disputed it
 " with him, meanly to give it up to strangers, who
 " were for depriving him of it. That lastly,
 " though peace were preferable to war, all the
 " world agreed, that there was nothing more shame-
 " ful than to give up Empire without resistance, and
 " nothing more glorious than to have left no means
 " untried for retaining it."

This council was held at Pella, in the ancient *Perseus as-*
 palace of the Kings of Macedonia. Perseus, with- *sembles his*
 out hesitating, declared for the latter opinion. *As troops.*
you judge thus, said he, let us then make war, and Liv. xlii.
pray the gods to be propitious to us. 51. At the same
 time he ordered all his Generals to assemble their
 troops at Citium a city of Macedonia; and he
 repaired thither soon after with all his guards and
 all the Lords of his court. He there found the
 army already assembled. It consisted, including
 the foreign troops, and those of the country, of
 thirty nine thousand foot, of which almost one half
 formed

A. R. 581. formed the * phalanx, and four thousand horse.
 Ant. C. 171. It † was agreed, says Livy, that no Macedonian King had ever had so numerous an army on foot, since that to which Alexander marched into Asia.

It was six and twenty years, since Philip had made peace with the Romans; and as during all that time Macedonia had been in tranquillity, and without any considerable war, she had a numerous youth at present capable of bearing arms. Perseus had kept them in exercise by slight expeditions against the neighbouring Thracians, more proper to discipline than fatigue them. Besides which, Philip, and Perseus after him, had long formed the design of making war with the Romans. Thus every thing was in readiness for commencing it with advantage.

He harangues them.
 Liv. xlii.
 52.

Perseus, before he took the field, thought it necessary to harangue his troops. Accordingly he ascended a tribunal, which had been prepared for him in the middle of the camp, and with his two sons by his side he spoke from thence in a manner highly proper to animate his soldiers. "He began by making a long enumeration of all the unjust actions the Romans had committed in respect to his father, which would have induced him to have resolved upon a war with them, if death had not prevented him from putting his design in execution. He added, that after the death of Philip, the Romans had amused him with fallacious interviews, and a dissembled truce under pretence of negotiating a reconciliation. He compared the Consul's army, which was actually upon its march, with that of the Macedonians, according to him much superior to the

* An exact description of the phalanx may be seen in the *Antient History*.

† According to all authors, Alexander's army was not quite so numerous as this of Perseus.

" other

"other both in number and valour." *It therefore* A. R. 581.
Ant. C. 171.
only remains for you, Macedonians, said he in concluding, to shew the same courage now as your ancestors did, when after having subjected all Europe, they went to Asia; setting no other bounds to their conquests than those of the universe. The question now is, not to carry your arms to the remotest India, but to preserve possession of your own country Macedonia against the Romans. That ambitious people cannot suffer any King to be their neighbour, nor leave arms in the hands of any warlike nation. For, you may be assured, if you do not sustain the war with vigour, if you are capable of submitting to the will of those proud masters, you must resolve to deliver up to them your arms, with your King and his kingdom.

At these words, the whole army, which had already interrupted him several times, abandoned themselves still more ardently to the different emotions that transported them, and raised cries of rage and indignation, exhorting the King to entertain the best hopes, and eagerly demanding to be led against the enemy.

Perseus afterwards gave audience to the Ambassadors of the cities of Macedonia, who came to offer him money and provisions for the use of the army. The King thanked them in the kindest manner; but did not accept their offers, giving for his reason, that he was abundantly supplied with all that was necessary. He asked only carriages of them for his rams, catapultas, and other machines of war.

He afterwards set out with all his forces, and *Perseus*
marching towards Eordæa, arrived the next day in *takes the*
Elimeia, upon the banks of the river Haliacmon; *field, and*
and having passed the Cambuninan mountains, he *stops in*
seized the country called Pelagonia or Tripolis. He *Thessaly.*
afterwards besieged Cyreties and Myle, which he Liv. xlii.
took by assault. Not daring to attack Gyrtion, 53, 54.

A. R. 581.
Ant. C. 171.

which he found too well defended, he seized Elatia and Gonna, cities situated at the entrance of the defile, which leads to Tempe; and lastly, he halted at Sycurium at the foot of mount Ossa, resolving to wait the enemy there.

*The Consul
moves thither also.
Ibid. 53.*

During the same time the Consul Licinius quitted the country of Apollonia, and in order to lead his army into Thessalia, crossed Epirus, where the ways were at first easy enough. But when he had entered Athamania, the rough and almost impracticable country did not permit his making long marches, and it was not without great difficulty and much expence of time, that he arrived at Gomphi in Thessaly. If Perseus had taken this time to have advanced in order of battle to meet an army newly raised, and of which both the men and horses were next to disabled by fatigues, the Romans themselves confessed, that they could not have fought him, without exposing themselves to an inevitable defeat. When Licinius, saw that he had reached Gomphi without any opposition from the Macedonians, the joy of having got safe through so dangerous a passage, made him only despise an enemy who knew so little how to take his advantages. Being informed, that the Macedonians made incursions into Thessaly, and plundered the lands of the allies of the Commonwealth, as he found his troops sufficiently recovered of their fatigues, he marched them towards Larissa, and encamped on the banks of the river Peneus.

*Eumenes
joins the
Consul.*

Eumenes at this time arrived at Chalcis with his brothers Attalus and Athenæus: the fourth, named Phileternes, was left at Pergamus for the defence of the country. Eumenes and Attalus joined the Consul with four thousand foot, and a thousand horse. They had left two thousand foot at Chalcis under Athenæus, to reinforce the garrison of that important place. Some troops also arrived from other

other allies, but little considerable in number, with some galleys. A. R. 581.
Ant. C. 171.

Perseus in the mean time sent out several detachments to ravage the country in the neighbourhood of Pheræ, in hopes that if the Consul quitted his camp to aid the allies of the Commonwealth, he should be able to surprize and attack him at advantage. But his hopes were vain: he only took some plunder, especially cattle of all kinds, which he distributed amongst his soldiers.

The Consul and the King both held a council at the same time, to determine where they should begin the war. The King, flushed with having been suffered to ravage the lands of the Pheræans with impunity, was for marching without loss of time to attack the Romans in their camp. The Romans rightly perceived, that their slowness and delays would lessen them in the opinion of the allies, and they reproached themselves with not having aided those of Pheræ. Whilst the Consul with the principal officers, and Eumenes and Attalus, were deliberating in council how to act, news was brought them on a sudden that Perseus approached with his whole army. The signal for the soldiers to stand to their arms was immediately given, and an hundred horse were detached with as many foot-archers to view the enemy. Perseus about ten in the morning finding himself only a short half league from the Roman camp, made his infantry halt, and advanced with his cavalry and light-armed troops. He had scarce moved a quarter of a league, when he perceived the Roman detachment, and on his side sent a small body of horse, sustained by some light-armed foot, against it. As the number was very near equal, and neither side detached new troops to their aid, the skirmish ended without either party being victorious. Perseus returned to his camp at Sycurium. *Slight
skirmish.*
Liv. xlii.
57.

A. R. 581.

AntiC. 171.

*Action of**the horse**in which**Perseus**has the ad**vantage.*

Liv. xlii.

58, 59.

The next day at the same hour, he again made all his troops advance towards the camp of the Romans. They were followed with carriages laden with vessels filled with water: for there was none for almost four leagues, and the way was very dusty. In effect of which the troops might have suffered much by thirst, when they should have been to engage, which would have greatly incommoded them. The Romans keeping close, and having even made their advanced guards re-enter their works, the King's troops returned to their camp. They did the same thing several days together, in hopes that the Roman cavalry would be detached to charge their rear, and that then, facing suddenly about, they should bring them to a battle at a considerable distance from their camp. And as the King's horse was much superior to that of the Romans, as well as his light-armed troops, they assured themselves of giving a good account of them.

This first design not succeeding, the King moved to incamp nearer the enemy at the distance of little more than a league and an half from them. Having drawn up his infantry, at day-break, in the same place, where he had usually done so the preceding days, that is, at a thousand paces from the enemy, he led on all his cavalry and light-armed troops towards the camp of the Romans. The dust, which seemed more near than usual, and raised by a greater number of troops, gave the alarm there; and the first, who brought the news, could scarce be believed, when he said the enemy were so near; because during several days together before, they had not appeared till ten in the morning, whereas it was now only sun-rise. But the repeated cries of many, who declared the same thing, leaving no room to doubt it any longer, the camp was in great confusion. The officers from all sides repaired to the Consul's tent, and the soldiers ran

pre-

precipately to arm. The Consul's negligence in being so ill informed of the motions of an enemy who was so near him, and ought to have kept him night and day upon the watch, gives us no great idea of his merit.

A. R. 581.
Ant. C. 171.

Perseus had drawn up his troops at less than five hundred paces from the Consul's intrenchments. Cotys, King of the Odrysæ in Thrace, commanded the left with the Cavalry of his nation: the light-armed troops were distributed from space to space along the front. The Macedonian cavalry, mingled with the Cretan, formed the right wing. On the sides and within the two wings, were distributed the horse, which Livy calls *Royal* (perhaps because they formed *part of the King's Household*) and some auxiliaries of different nations. The King was in the centre with the body of horse, that always attended his person, and he posted before him the slingers and other troops, that used missile weapons, who might amount to about four hundred.

The Consul having drawn up his infantry within his camp, made only his cavalry and light-armed troops quit it, which he drew up before his intrenchments. The right wing, that consisted of all the Italian cavalry, was commanded by C. Licinius Crassus, the Consul's brother; the left, composed of the cavalry of the Greek allies, by M. Valerius Levinus: both were intermingled with their light-armed troops. Q. Mucius was posted in the centre with a chosen body of horse, and he had in his front two hundred Gaulish horse, and three hundred drawn out of the troops of Eumenes. Four hundred Thessalian horse were posted a little beyond the left wing, as a body of reserve. King Eumenes, and Attalus his brother, with their troops, occupied the space between the intrenchments and the rear ranks.

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This was only a battle of the cavalry, which were very near equal in number on both sides, and might amount on each to about four thousand men, without including the light-armed troops. The action began by the slingers and missile weapons, who were posted in the front. But after this prelude the Thracians, like wild beasts long confined, and in effect only more fierce, fell furiously upon the right wing of the Italians, who all brave and intrepid as they were, could not sustain so rude and violent a charge. The light-armed troops, which the Thracians had amongst them, beat down the lances of the enemy with their swords, and sometimes cut the legs of their horses, and thrust them into their sides. Perseus attacked the Greeks in person, put them into disorder at the first charge, and pursued them vigorously. The Thesalian cavalry, which, separated from the left-wing by no great space, as we have said before, formed a body of reserve, and which in the beginning of the action, had only been spectators of the battle, was of great support to the left wing, when it began to give way. For this cavalry, retiring before the King slowly and in good order, after it had joined the auxiliary troops of Eumenes, gave those who fled, as well as that Prince, a secure retreat in their ranks; and seeing that the enemy did not pursue them with the same vigour, they even ventured to go farther, and to support and re-animate them. The Macedonians, who had broke in the pursuit, were afraid to hazard a new attack with troops, that marched in good order, and with an intrepid aspect.

Hippias and Leonatus, who had remained with the infantry of Perseus, having been apprized of the advantage gained by the cavalry, that the King might not be wanting to so favourable an occasion of compleating the glory of the day by pushing

pushing the enemy with vigour, and attacking them in their works, of their own accord and without orders led on the Macedonian phalanx to join him. And indeed it seemed, that the King with some little effort might have rendered his victory compleat; and that in the present ardour of his own troops, and the terror they had spread amongst the Romans, the entire defeat of the latter was certain.

Whilst that Prince, divided between hope and fear, was irresolute how to act, in so critical a conjuncture, Evander of Crete, in whom he reposed great confidence, having seen the phalanx advance, ran immediately to Perseus, "and exhorted him "in the strongest terms not to abandon himself to "the blind joy of a slight advantage, and not to "enter rashly upon a new action, which was not "necessary, and in which he would risque all "things. He represented to him, that this first "success, if he lay still, would enable him either "to conclude peace with honour, or to bring over "to his party a greater number of allies to join "with him in the war against the Romans." The King was already inclined to this opinion. For which reason he made his cavalry retreat from the battle, and ordered his infantry to march back into the camp.

On the side of the Romans, there fell this day two hundred horse, and more than two thousand foot; whereas Perseus did not lose above twenty horse, and twice that number of infantry.

The victors entered their camp full of joy, and especially the Thracians, who singing and in a kind of triumph carried the heads of the enemies they had killed upon the points of their spears. The Romans, on the contrary, in the utmost affliction kept a mournful silence, and struck with terror expected every moment, that the enemy would attack them in their camp. Eumenes was

A. R. 581.
Ant. C. 171.

The Consul makes his troops pass the Peneus in the night for their better security.
Liv. xlii. 60.

A. R. 581.
Ant. C. 171.

of opinion, that it was necessary to decamp to the other side of the Peneus, in order to cover their troops with that river, till they had recovered from their consternation. The Consul would not come into this retreat without pain, which, as it was a manifest confession of fear, was entirely shameful for himself and his army; but however overcome by reason, and yielding to necessity, he made his troops pass without noise in the night, and incamped on the other side of the river.

Perseus perceives the faults he had committed,
Liv. xlii.
60.

Perseus the next day, advanced to attack the enemy, and to give them battle: but the time was passed, and he found their camp abandoned. When he saw them intrenched on the other side of the river, he perceived the enormous fault he had committed the day before, in not pursuing them vigorously immediately after their defeat: but he owned that it was still a greater, in having remained quiet and unactive during the night. For without making the rest of his army move, if he had only detached his light-armed troops against the enemy whilst they were passing the river with precipitation, he might without difficulty have defeated part of their army.

Sam. xxvi.
12.

These two faults, and particularly the last, has something so strange in it, that it manifestly argues a blindness of mind expressly sent by God, who had destined Perseus and his kingdom to destruction. Neither the King, nor any of his officers so much as think of observing the enemy's motions in the night. Such a stupefaction seems only to be compared with that of Saul's officers, of whom the Scripture speaks in these terms:—*And no man saw it, nor knew it, neither awaked: for they were all asleep, because a deep sleep from the Lord was fallen upon them.*

Grief and shame of the Romans,

The Romans, indeed, having placed a river between them and the enemy, were not any longer in the immediate danger of being attacked and put to the

the rout: but the blow they had just received, and the blemish they had given the glory of the Roman name, afflicted them extremely. The whole council of war, which the Consul had called, laid the blame upon the Ætolians. They said, it was they, who had taken the alarm, that the rest of the Greeks had been drawn away by their example, and that five of the principal persons of their nation had been seen to fly first. On the contrary, the Thessalians were praised for their courage, and their leaders rewarded with various marks of honour.

The spoils taken from the Romans were considerable: above fifteen hundred shields, a thousand cuirasses, with a great number of helmets, swords and darts of all kinds were brought off. The King gave them as rewards of honour to all the officers, who had distinguished themselves most, and having assembled the army, "he began by saying, that "what had lately happened was in respect to "them an happy presage, and an assured pledge of "what they had to expect for the future. He "praised the troops who had been in the action; "extolled in pompous terms the victory gained "over the Roman cavalry, in which the principal "force of their army consisted, and which they had "hitherto believed invincible. He promised himself a still greater over their foot, which had only "escaped out of their hands by a shameful retreat "during the night, but that it would be easy to "force them in their intrenchments where fear kept "them shut up."

The victorious soldiers, who carried the spoils of the enemies they had killed upon their shoulders, heard this discourse with great pleasure, and promised themselves every thing from their courage, judging of the future by the past. The infantry, on their side, especially that which composed the Macedonian phalanx, prompted by a laudable emulation,

A. R. 581.
Ant. C. 171.

Joy and triumph of Perseus and his army.

Liv. xlii. 61.

A. R. 581.
Ant. C. 171.

lation, declared that on the first occasion they would equal, and even surpass, the glory of their companions. All, in a word, demanded with incredible ardour only to be led on against the enemy. The King, after having dismissed the assembly, marched the next day and incamped near Mopsia, an eminence between Tempe and Larissa.

The Romans, without quitting the banks of the Peneus, moved to incamp in a more secure post, where Misagenes, the son of Masinissa, joined the Consul with a thousand horse, as many foot, and two and twenty elephants.

Perseus at first enjoyed the good success of so important a battle to the highest degree. He considered himself as superior to a people, who were so themselves in respect to all other Princes and nations. It was not a victory gained by surprize, and in a manner stolen by stratagem and address, but carried by open force, by the valour and bravery of his troops, and that before his eyes, and by his own orders. He had seen the Roman haughtiness give way three times in one day before him: first by shutting themselves up in their camp; then, when they had ventured out of it, by shamefully flying; and lastly, in flying again during the darkness of the night, and in finding no safety but within their intrenchments, the usual refuge of fear and cowardice. Such thoughts were highly soothing, and capable of dazzling a Prince already but too full of his own merit.

*Perseus
sends to de-
mand peace
of the Con-
sul.*

*On his
answer he
prepares
against or
the war.*

Liv. xlii.

62.

Polyb.

Legat. 69.

But when these first emotions were a little abated, and the intoxicating vapour of a sudden joy was dispelled, and made way for reflexion, Perseus being come to himself, and considering in cold blood all the consequences his victory might have, he began in some measure to be terrified at them. All the wise courtiers about him, taking advantage of these good dispositions, ventured to give

give him the counsel, of which they made him capable: this was to employ the advantage he had lately gained for obtaining an honourable peace of the Romans. They represented to him, "that the
"sign of a wise Prince, and of one who deserved
"success, was not to rely upon the present favours
"of fortune, not to abandon himself to the glitter
"of a dazzling prosperity. That accordingly he
"would do well to send to the Consul to renew the
"treaty with him upon the same conditions, that
"T. Quintius, when victorious, had imposed upon
"his father Philip. That he could not terminate the war more gloriously for himself, than
"after so memorable a battle; nor ever hope a
"more favourable occasion of concluding a safe
"and lasting peace, than in a conjuncture when
"the blow, which the Romans had received, would
"render them more tractable, and better disposed
"to grant him good conditions. That if, notwithstanding this blow, the Romans, through an
"haughtiness but too natural to them, rejected a
"just and equitable accommodation, they would be
"manifestly in the wrong, and that as much as they
"would have the just wrath of the gods, who abhor pride, to fear, so much would the moderation of Perseus render both gods and men favourable to him.

The King gave into these wise remonstrances: and the counsels which tended to peace found him always disposed to hear them. The majority also of his counsel were inclined the same way. Accordingly Ambassadors were sent to the Consul, who assembled a numerous council to give them audience. They said, "That they came to ask
"peace. That Perseus would pay the Romans
"the same tribute as Philip had done, and that he
"would evacuate the cities, territories, and all the
"places which Philip had evacuated."

When

A. R. 581.
Ant. C. 171.

A. R. 581.
Ant. C. 171.

When they withdrew, the council deliberated upon the answer it was necessary to give. The Roman constancy appeared on this occasion with lustre. It (a) was then the custom to shew all the assurance and loftiness of good fortune in adversity, and to act with moderation in prosperity. The answer was: "That Perseus must not hope for peace, unless he left it to the Senate to dispose of his person and kingdom as they should think fit."

When this answer was brought to the King, those who composed his counsel, were strangely struck with so extraordinary, and, according to them, so ill-timed a pride; and most of them believed, that peace was no longer to be mentioned, and that the Romans would soon be obliged to demand that themselves, which they now refused. Perseus was not of the same opinion. He saw plainly that Rome was not only so haughty, because she was conscious of her superiority; and this gave him terrible apprehensions. He sent again to the Consul, and offered a more considerable tribute than that imposed upon Philip. When he saw, that the Consul would abate nothing of his demands, having no farther expectations of peace, he returned to his camp at Sycurium, from whence he had set out, determined to try again the chance of war.

*Want of
prudence in
Perseus.*

This whole conduct of Perseus gives reason to think, that he must have undertaken this war very imprudently, and without having compared his own strength and resources with those of the Romans, in believing himself happy after a signal victory, and in being capable of asking peace, and submitting to such grievous conditions, as his father Philip had not complied with, till after a bloody defeat. It seems clear, that he had scarce taken his measures

(a) Ita tum mos erat, in adversis vultum secundæ fortunæ gerere, moderari animos in secundis. Liv.

judi-

judiciously, nor well concerted the means of succeeding, as after a first action, in which the whole advantage is on his side, he begins by perceiving all his weakness and inferiority, and inclines in some sense towards despair. Why then was he the first to break the peace? Why was he the aggressor without necessity? Why was he so hasty, and yet stop at the first step? Why did he wait to know his weakness, till his own victory taught it him? These things do not denote a wise and discerning Prince.

The news of the battle of the cavalry having spread in Greece, it made known what people thought there, and discovered in full light the disposition of the cities. For not only the Partisans of the Macedonians, but a great number of those who had received the most considerable advantages from the Romans, even those, who had experienced the violence and pride of the Kings of Macedonia, evidenced their joy upon this occasion; most of them having no other reason but a fantastical caprice, though common enough, which even at the shews, says Livy, where the gladiators combat to please the multitude, occasions people to declare warmly for the weaker against the stronger.

At the same time the Prætor Lucretius besieged Haliartus in Bœotia. After a long and vigorous defence, that city was at length taken by storm, plundered, and then entirely demolished.

Perseus in the mean time, who was not far from the camp of the Romans, incommoded them very much, harassing their troops, and cutting off their foragers, if they straggled ever so little. He one day took a thousand waggons, most of them laden with corn, which the Romans had just reaped, with six hundred prisoners. He afterwards attacked a small body of troops in the neighbourhood, of which he was in hopes of making himself master

A. R. 581.
Ant. C. 374.

*The Greeks
rejoice for
Perseus's
victory.
Liv. xlii.*

*Taking of
Haliartus.
Ibid.*

*The two
armies,
after some
slight ex-
peditions,
retire into
winter-
quarters.*

with

A. R. 581. with no difficulty : but he found more resistance
Ant. C. 171. from it than he expected ; and the Consul coming to their support with his whole army, Perseus retreated not without some loss. Having left a strong garrison at Gonna, he led back his troops into Macedonia. The Consul, after having subjected Perrhæbia, returned to Larissa. From thence, he dismissed all the allies except the Achæans, dispersed his troops into Thessaly where he left them in winter-quarters, and went to Bœotia at the request of the Thebans, upon whom the people of Coronæa made incursions.

Perseus did not remain idle on his side: he gained some advantages both over the Roman fleet near Oreum a City of Eubœa, and in Thrace against the enemies of Cotys his ally.

Epirus declares against the Romans.
Polyb. & Diod. apud Valef.

At the same time the nation of the Epirots went over to his party, determined so to do particularly by the authority of Cephalus, one of the principal persons of Epirus, who was however rather forced by necessity to throw himself into the arms of Perseus, than induced to it by inclination. For this Cephalus was a wise and judicious man, and thought in the same manner with the most worthy persons of Greece. He was very sorry that a rupture should happen between the Romans and Perseus, wisely perceiving that Greece would be the prey of the victor. After the war had been declared contrary to his wishes, he had resolved to act as a good and faithful ally to the Romans, and to do all for them, that was necessary, but without meanness, and hurrying into of slavery.

It was not possible for him to pursue so well concerted a plan. There was at that time in Epirus one Charopus, grandson of another of that name, who in former times had rendered the Romans a signal service, in supplying the Consul Quintius with the means of forcing the defile, where Philip had

had intrenched himself on the banks of the river Aous. Young Charopus had been sent to Rome by his grandfather to learn the Roman language and letters. On his return into Epirus, proud of the friendship of a great number of Romans, and being besides of a turbulent malignant disposition, he incessantly attacked and harrassed the principal persons of the nation, either by declamations and invectives in publick, or secret informations, in which mingling a little truth with much falsehood, he gave a bad turn to all their actions, and laboured not unsuccessfully to render them suspected and odious to the Romans. Cephalus, and those who thought like him, at first despised this factious young man, relying upon the clearness of their conduct, and being conscious to themselves, that if they had formerly been under engagements with the royal family of Macedonia, it had been without prejudice to the alliance with the Romans, to whom they had retained an inviolable fidelity. But when they saw, that the Romans gave ear to the discourses of Charopus, moved in particular by the example of some of the most illustrious Ætolians, who upon loose and slight accusations had been carried to Rome, they believed it necessary for them to prevent the like disgrace; and not finding any other resource but in the amity of Perseus, they were reduced to have recourse to it, and to make their nation enter into alliance with him.

We shall see in the sequel what misfortune this fatal step drew upon Epirus, the cause of which is solely to be imputed to the calumnies of Charopus: and in this manner a wretched informer may occasion the ruin of an whole nation.

A. R. 582.
Ant. C. 170.

A. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.

A. ATILIUS SERRANUS.

The Consul Hostilius, to whom Macedonia had fallen as province by lot, hastening to join his army in Thessaly, passed through Epirus. He did not know the change, which had happened there, because it had not yet declared openly against the Romans. He was very near being surprized and seized by treachery concerted with the King of Macedonia. Having entered Thessaly, Perseus defeated him in a battle, and obliged him to fly. His conduct was neither wiser nor more successful during all the rest of the campaign.

A. R. 583.
Ant. C. 169.

Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS II.

CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.

The Romans were highly intent upon the Macedonian war. The Consul Q. Marcius was charged with the conduct of it.

Livy's opinions of the prodigies.

Liv. xliiii.
13.

Livy, before he relates the prodigies, according to his custom, makes a reflexion, which shews as well a religious as judicious manner of thinking in him, exempt from superstition, but at the same time, without the affectation of free-thinking. "I know, says he, that few prodigies are now talked of, and that historians do not deign to mention them in their writings. This negligence is an effect of the same irreligion, which at present induces many people to affirm, that the gods do not intermeddle in what passes here below, nor inform mankind of what is to happen to them. As for my part, in relating the actions of the antients, I assume also the antient taste; I adopt the sentiments and maxims of our forefathers; and I should make a kind of
"scruple

“scruple of conscience to judge facts unworthy of
 “a place in my annals, for which the wisest per-
 “sonages of their times have believed, that the
 “Commonwealth and Religion ought to have so
 “serious an attention.”

Perseus had believed it necessary for him to take the advantage of the winter-season to make an expedition against Illyricum, which was the sole part, from which Macedonia had any irruptions to fear, whilst the King should be employed against the Romans. This enterprize succeeded very happily for him, and almost without any loss on his side. He began by the siege of the city Uscana, which had fallen into the hands of the Romans, and took it after a sufficiently long defence. He afterwards made himself master of all the fortresses of the country, in most of which were Roman garrisons, and he took a great number of prisoners.

*Expedition
 of Perseus
 against
 Illyricum.
 Liv. xliii.*

At the same time he sent Ambassadors to Gentius, one of the Kings of Illyricum, to engage him in an alliance with him. These Ambassadors, having passed the summit of mount Scodrus, crossed the part of Illyricum, which the Macedonians had purposely laid entirely waste by ruining the whole country, in order to deprive the Dardanians of the means of entering Illyricum or Macedonia; and lastly, after infinite pains they arrived at Scodra. King Gentius was then at Lissa. He gave them audience there, and received them in a very obliging manner. After having heard the proposals, which they made him from their master, he replied, that he was much inclined of himself to make an alliance with Perseus: but that having neither preparations of war, nor money, he was not in a condition to declare against the Romans. This was explaining himself clearly enough. Perseus, who was avaricious, did not, or rather would not, seem to understand

*Base avarice of that Prince.
 Liv. xliiii.
 19, 20.
 Polyb.
 Legat. 76,
 77.*

A. R. 583.
Ant. C. 169.

his demand. He sent a second Embassy to him, without speaking of money; and received the same answer from him.

Polybius observes, that this fear of expence in important and decisive conjunctures as the present was, a fear which argues a mean and sordid spirit and sentiments unworthy of a Prince, made Perseus lose many fair occasions, and that if he would have sacrificed no considerable sums, he might have engaged several Republicks and Princes on his side. He cannot conceive how a King, for saving wealth, which is only estimable from the good use made of it, can expose himself and kingdom to destruction; and he considers this blindness as a terrible punishment from the gods.

The Romans are received into Stratus instead of Perseus.
Liv. xliii.
21, 22.

Perseus, some time after what we have just related, made part of his troops march towards Stratus, a very strong city of Ætolia above the gulf of Ambracia. He had been made to hope, that it would surrender as soon as he appeared before the walls; but the Romans prevented him, and threw succours into the place. He retired into Macedonia, highly regretting the useless pains he had taken in fatiguing his troops by a precipitate march in very difficult ways, to see the gates of a city shut against him, into which he expected to have entered without resistance. All that we have just related passed

The Consul

during winter.

Marcus advances towards Macedonia.

Liv. xliv.
1, 2.

Aid prepared by the Achaians for the Consul.

Polyb.
egat. 78.

Early in the spring, the Consul Marcus set out from Rome, advanced towards Macedonia, persuaded that it was necessary to attack Perseus in the heart of his dominions. The Prætor C. Marcus Figulus, who commanded the fleet, used no less diligence.

Upon the report that the Roman armies were ready to take the field, Archon, the principal magistrate of the Achaians, to justify his Republick from the suspicions and bad rumors which had been spread

MARCIUS, SERVILIUS, Consuls.

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spread against it, advised the Achæans to prepare a decree, by which it should be ordained, that an army should march into Theffaly, and that they should share in all the dangers of the war with the Romans. The decree being passed, orders were given Archon to raise troops, and to make all the necessary preparations. It was afterwards resolved, that Ambassadors should be sent to the Consul, to inform him of the resolution, which the Republick had taken, and to know from him where and when he judged it proper for the Achæian army to join his. Polybius, our historian, was chosen with some others, for this embassy; on their arrival they found the Romans out of Theffaly, incamped in Perrhæbia between Azora and Doliche, and highly perplexed concerning the way they were to take. He followed them, to wait a favourable occasion for speaking to the Consul, and shared with him in all the dangers he ran in entering Macedonia.

Perseus, who did not know what route the Consul took, had posted considerable bodies of troops in two places, through which it was probable he would attempt to pass. He incamped the rest of his army at Dium, scouring the neighbouring coasts in person with a small body of horse, and marching sometimes on one side and sometimes on another without much design.

Marcius, after long deliberation, determined to pass the mountains near a place, called in the text of Livy as we now have it, Octolopha. It is not certain whether there is not an error in this name: But it is, that the place in question must not be confounded with Octolopha in the country of the Dassaretians towards the western part of Macedonia; and that our historian intended to speak of a place situated at some small distance from mount Olympus, Dium, and Phila. However that be, the Consul had incredible difficulties to surmount, in such steep

*Perseus
posts bodies
of troops in
the passes.
Liv. xliv.
2.*

*Marcius
passes thro'
ways of
incredible
difficulty.
Liv. xliv.
3—5.*

A. R. 583.
Ant. C. 169.

and impracticable ways. He had taken the precaution to seize an eminence, which favoured his passage, and from whence they could see the enemy's camp, that was not above a thousand paces distant, and the lands round Dium and Phila; which exceedingly animated the soldiers, who had such opulent countries, where they hoped to enrich themselves, before their eyes. Hippias, whom the King had posted in this pass to defend it with a body of twelve thousand men, seeing the eminence seized by a detachment of the Romans, marched against the Consul, who was advancing with his whole army, harrassed his troops during two days, and incommoded them extremely by frequent attacks.

Marcus was very anxious, not being able either to advance with safety, or retreat without shame, and even without great danger. The only choice he could now make, was to pursue an enterprize with vigour, formed perhaps with too much boldness and temerity, but which might succeed by a tenacious perseverance; the only resource in the like case, and often successful. It is certain, that if the Consul had been to act against an enemy like the antient Kings of Macedonia, in the narrow defile where his troops were shut up, he would infallibly have received a great blow. But Perseus, instead of sending fresh troops to sustain those of Hippias, to whom he was so near, that he heard in his camp the cries they raised in fighting; instead of going in person to attack the enemy, continued his useless excursions with his cavalry in the neighbourhood of Dium, and by that neglect gave the Romans opportunity to extricate themselves from the bad step they had taken.

Manner in which the elephants are made to descend the steep declivity of the mountain.

It was not without infinite difficulty they effected this; the horses that carried the baggage sinking under their loads on the declivity of the mountain, and falling almost every step they took. The elephants

elephants in particular gave them great trouble. A. R. 583.
It was necessary to find a new means to make them Ant. C. 169.
descend in these extremely steep places; and this was
as follows. Along the steep parts of the mountain
they laid two long beams sustained at top by the
ground, and at their lower extremities by props
driven into the earth, which so raised up the lower
ends, as made the declivity little and easy. These
beams were laid something more distant from each
other than the breadth of the body of an elephant.
Across these two beams, which were parallels, they
afterwards laid planks thirty feet long, which
formed a kind of bridge, and covered them with
earth. At the end of this first bridge, but at
some distance, a second of the same kind was erect-
ed; then a third, and so on, wherever the declivi-
ty was too steep for those animals to go down
without help. The elephant walked from firm
ground upon the bridge, and before he came to the
end of it the props where cut, the bridge fell, and the
animal was obliged to slide gently down and move
forwards till he came to the beginning of another
bridge, where finding level footing he advanced on
quietly as on the first bridge; and the same was
done as before. We must suppose, which Livy
does not say, that each bridge was capable of being
used for all the elephants in the Roman army; and
their number could not have been great. The
manner in which Hannibal made his elephants pass
the Rhone, has some similitude to what the Romans
do upon this occasion: but the trouble was far from
being so great.

It is not easy to express the fatigues, which the
Romans had to suffer in this pass, the soldiers being
often obliged to slide also along the ground with
their arms, because they could not keep upon their
legs walking upright. It was agreed on all hands
that with an handful of troops the enemy might
have intirely defeated the whole Roman army. At

A. R. 583. length, after many pains and dangers, it arrived in
Ant. C. 169. the plain, and was then safe.

*Polybius
communi-
cates to the
Consul the
offers of the
Achaians.
Polyb.
Legat. 78.*

As the Consul seemed then to have happily completed the most difficult part of his enterprize, Polybius took this favourable moment for presenting to him the decree of the Achaians, and to assure him of the resolution they had taken to come with all their forces, and share with him all the fatigues and dangers of this war. Marcius, after having thanked the Achaians for their good intention in very obliging terms, told them, that they might spare themselves the pains and expence, in which this war would engage them: that in the state wherein he saw affairs, he did not believe he had occasion for the aid of allies. After this discourse, Polybius's Collegues returned into Achaia.

*He set out
on his re-
turn to
Achaia.*

Polybius only remained in the Roman army, till the Consul having received advice, that Appius, surnamed Centhos, had asked the Achaians for an aid of five thousand men to act in Epirus, sent him back to his country, exhorting him not to suffer his Commonwealth to supply those troops and to engage in expences entirely useless.

*Extreme
terror of
the King
on the ap-
proach of
the enemy.
Liv. xliij.
6.*

Whilst the King was bathing, he was informed that the enemy approached. This news threw him into a terrible consternation. Uncertain how to act, and changing resolution every moment, he vented cries, and lamented his fate, to see himself conquered without fighting. He caused the two officers, whom he had posted to guard the passes, to return, ordered the gilt statues which were at Dium to be carried on board his fleet, lest they should fall into the hands of the Romans, that the treasures he had at Pella should be thrown into the sea, and that all his galleys at Thessalonica should be burnt. As to himself, he retired to Pydna. Terror and confusion on the prospect of sudden danger unveil the

the inmost heart of a prince, and shew him such as he is. A. R. 583.
Ant. C. 169.

The Roman army owed its safety to the imprudent and stupid fear of Perseus, which caused the Consul's temerity, in engaging himself in a country, from which he had never got off, if his enemies had been in their senses, to be considered as a laudable boldness. There were two ways for extricating himself out of this danger; the one by penetrating through the valleys of Tempe, in order to enter Theffaly; the other in passing by Dium, to enter Macedonia. Now these two important posts were occupied by good bodies of troops, which the King had placed there. If Perseus therefore had had a little more resolution, and had only withstood the terror he was seized with on the approach of the Romans for ten days, the Consul could neither have retired through Tempe into Theffaly, nor have had provisions in the defiles into which he had advanced. For the ways through Tempe have precipices on their sides so very steep, that the eye cannot view them without being dazzled. The King's troops guarded this pass in four different places, the last of which was so narrow, that ten well-armed men only were capable of defending the entrance of it. Thus the Romans not being able to receive provisions through the narrow defiles of Tempe, nor to pass there themselves, they would have been obliged to regain the mountains from whence they had descended, which would have been impracticable, if the enemy had continued to occupy the eminences. They would then have had no other resource than to penetrate into Macedonia on the side of Dium by passing through the enemy; which would not have been less difficult, *if the gods, says Livy, had not deprived Perseus of counsel and prudence.* For, by making a fosse and intrenchments in the very narrow defile

A. R. 583.
Ant. C. 169.

at the foot of mount Olympus, he would absolutely have shut them out of it, and stopped them short. But *the King's terror had thrown him into such a blindness of mind, he neither saw nor did any thing that might save him*, he left all the entrances into his kingdom open to the enemy, and took refuge with precipitation at Pydna. Livy's expressions are very remarkable in this place, and shews us what means God employs for destroying the greatest empires. *Nisi Dii mentem Regi ademissent — Quorum nihil cum dispexisset cæcata mens subito terrore.*

The Consul
enters Ma-
cedonia.
Liv. xliv.

The Consul, seeing that he might hope every thing from the terror and imprudence of the enemies, gave orders to the Prætor Lucretius, who was at Larissa, to seize the posts adjacent to Tempe, which Perseus had abandoned, in order to provide a retreat for his troops in case of necessity, and sent Popilius to examine the passes near Dium. When he knew that the ways were open and undefended, he advanced, and arriving at Dium the second day, he made his army incamp near a temple of Jupiter, which was not far off, to prevent it from being plundered. When he entered the city, which was full of magnificent buildings, and very well fortified, he was astonished in the highest degree to find, that the King had abandoned it so easily. He continued his march, and made himself master of many places almost without any resistance. But, the more he advanced, the less provisions he found, and the famine increased in proportion: this reduced him to return to Dium: He was even obliged to quit that city, and to retire to Phila, where the Prætor Lucretius had informed him, that he would find provisions in abundance. This last step much disgusted the army; and made way for discourses very little in the Consul's favour. And indeed his departure from Dium instructed Perseus, that

that he was now to recover that by his courage, which he had lost by his excessive timidity; he accordingly repossessed himself of that city, and soon repaired the ravages which the Romans had committed there

A. R. 583.
Ant. C. 169.

Popillius, on his side, besieged and took Hera-
clea, which was but a quarter of a league from
Phila. The Consul moved, and incamped near
that place, as if he had designed to drive Perseus
from Dium, and to go on from thence to Pieria.
But his real intent being then to take up his winter-
quarters, he sent some bodies of troops to secure
the ways, by which the necessary provisions were
brought him from Thessaly, and to chuse the places
where magazines might be commodiously settled,
and to erect stations for those who guarded the con-
voys.

Perseus, having recovered his fright with his rea-
son, would have been very glad if his orders for
throwing his treasures at Pella into the sea, and for
burning all his galleys at Theffalonica, had not
been executed. Andronicus, to whom the last of
these commissions had been given, had delayed the
affair, to leave time for the repentance, which
might soon follow this command, as it really hap-
pened. Nicias, who had not so much precaution,
had thrown all the money he found at Pella into
the sea. His fault was soon remedied by divers,
who brought up almost all that money from the
bottom. For their reward, the King caused them
all to be put to death secretly, as well as Androni-
cus and Nicias; so great was his shame for the ab-
ject terror, to which he had abandoned himself,
that he could not bear to have any witnesses or traces
of it in being! But ought a slight fault in some
sense, as it at least only affected him who had com-
mitted it, to have been covered with a cruelty more
than barbarous and tyrannical? Was such a conduct
a pro-

A. R. 583. a proper means to that effect; And had he even
 Ant. C. 169. succeeded in stifling the complaints of his subjects
 in respect to so black an action, could he hope also
 to abolish the remembrance of it?

*Different
 expediti-
 ons.*

Liv. xliv.
 10—13.

Several expeditions were made on both sides both
 by sea and land, which had not much conse-
 quence, and were not very important. The Præ-
 tor C. Marcius formed some sieges, which he was
 obliged to raise.

*Return of
 Polybius
 into A-
 chaia.*

Polyb.
 Legat. 78.

When Polybius returned into Peloponnesus after
 his embassy, the letter of Appius, by which he de-
 manded five thousand men, had already been re-
 ceived there. Some short time after, the council
 that assembled at Sicyon to deliberate upon this af-
 fair, highly perplexed Polybius. Not to execute
 the order he had received from the Consul Marcius,
 had been an inexcusable fault. On the other side,
 it was dangerous to refuse the troops, which might
 be of service to the Romans, and for which the
 Achaians had no occasion. To extricate himself
 out of so delicate a dilemma, he had recourse to a
 decree of the Roman Senate, which prohibited the
 having any regard to the letters of Generals, unless
 they were attended with an order of the Senate,
 which Appius had not annexed to his. He accord-
 ingly said, that before sending any thing to Appius,
 it was necessary to inform the Consul of his de-
 mand, and wait the decision he should think fit to
 make. Polybius hereby saved the Achaians an
 expence, which would have amounted to above an
 hundred and twenty thousand crowns.

*Prusias
 and the
 Rhodians
 send Am-
 bassadors
 to Rome in
 favour of
 Perseus.*

Liv. xliv.
 14, 15.

In the mean time Ambassadors arrived at Rome
 from Prusias King of Bithynia, and from the Rho-
 dians, in favour of Perseus. The discourse of the
 former had nothing in it but what was modest in
 respect to the Romans, but argued little integrity
 in respect to him, for whom Prusias pretended to
 interest himself. They declared, " that their
 " masters

“ masters had always adhered to the side of the
 “ Romans, and should never cease to do so, as
 “ long as the war should continue: but that having
 “ promised Perseus to employ his good offices for
 “ him with the Romans for obtaining peace, he
 “ desired them, if they could resolve to lay aside
 “ their resentment, to let him know, that it was
 “ in consideration of him, in order that he might
 “ make a merit of it with the King of Macedo-
 “ nia.” The Rhodians talked in a much different
 style. “ After having made a pompous enumera-
 “ tion of the services they had rendered the Roman
 “ People, and ascribed to themselves most of the
 “ victories gained with their aid over the enemies
 “ of Rome, and particularly over Antiochus,
 “ they added: That during the peace between the
 “ Macedonians and Romans, they had began to
 “ enter into a negotiation with Perseus, that they
 “ had broke up this treaty against their will, and
 “ without any subject of complaint against the
 “ King, because the Romans had thought fit to en-
 “ gage them in the war. That for three years,
 “ which this war had subsisted, they had suffered
 “ many inconveniencies from it. That their trade
 “ by sea being interrupted, their island was greatly
 “ straitened by the reduction of the revenues and
 “ advantages they derived from it. That not be-
 “ ing able to sustain such considerable losses, they
 “ had sent Ambassadors into Macedonia to King
 “ Perseus, to declare to him, that the Rhodians
 “ judged it necessary that he should make peace
 “ with the Romans. That they had also sent
 “ others to Rome, to make the same declaration.
 “ That if the two powers refused to comply with
 “ so reasonable a proposal, and to put an end to the
 “ war, the Rhodians should consider what they
 “ had to do.”

A. R. 583.

Ant. C. 169.

*The Se-**nate's an-**swer to the**insolent**discourse of**the Rho-**dians.*

It is easy to judge in what a manner a discourse so ridiculously vain and arrogant was received.

Some historians tell us, that all the answer given to it was to cause a decree of the Senate to be read in their presence, by which the Carians and Lycians were declared free. This was touching them to the quick and mortifying them in the most sensible part: for they considered those two nations as their subjects, who had been made so by a decree of the Senate after the war with Antiochus. According to others, the Senate replied in few words: "That the disposition of the Rhodians, and their secret intelligence with Perseus, had been long known at Rome. That when Rome should have conquered him, which was expected to happen every day, she would in her turn consider what she had to do, and treat every people according to the conduct they should have observed in this war." The usual presents were however offered the Ambassadors; but they did not accept them.

*Letters
from the
Consul
Marcius to
the Senate.
Liv. xliv.
16.*

The Consul Q. Marcius's letter was afterwards read, in which he gave an account of the manner in which he had entered Macedonia after having undergone incredible difficulties in passing a very narrow defile. He added, that the Prætor had got provisions for him for the winter from all the neighbouring countries, and that in particular the * Epirots had supplied him with twenty thousand measures of wheat, and ten thousand of barley, which was to be paid for to their Ambassadors then at Rome. But that it was necessary to send him cloaths for the soldiers from Italy, and that he had occasion for two hundred Numidian horse, if they could be had. That the country where he was, sup-

* It has been said above, fault here in the text, or part of that the Epirots had joined Perseus. Either there must be a fault here in the text, or part of the people of Epirus had continued in the Roman interest.

plied

plied him with nothing necessary to an army. All these articles were executed punctually and immediately. A. R. 583.
Ant. C. 169.

Audience was afterwards given to a Lord of Macedonia, called Onesimus. He had always persuaded the King to continue the peace; and putting him in mind, that his father Philip, to the last day of his life, had always caused the treaty he had concluded with the Romans to be read to him twice every day, he had exhorted him to do the same, if not with the same regularity, at least from time to time. Not being able to dissuade him from the war, he at first had withdrawn from his counsels under different pretexts, that he might not be a witness of the resolutions taken in them, which he could not approve. At length, finding that he was become suspected, and tacitely considered as a traitor, he took refuge amongst the Romans, and was of great service to the Consul. Having related all that has been said to the Senate, he was exceedingly well received, and the Senate gave him an honourable settlement at Tarentum, which was a fine house in the city, and two hundred acres of land in the country. *Onesimus the Macedonian goes over to the Romans.*
Ibid.

SECT. III.

General concern at Rome in respect to the approaching election of Consuls. Paulus Æmilius is elected Consul with Licinius Crassus. Wise precautions of Paulus Æmilius. Embassy from Egypt to Rome. The Commissioners returned from Macedonia, give an account of the armies by sea and land. The departure of the Generals is hastened. Number of the forces. Attention in chusing the Legionary Tribunes. Speech of Paulus Æmilius to the People before his departure. Preparations of Perseus against the Romans. Different embassies of that Prince to Gentius,

Gentius, the Rhodians, Eumenes, and Antiochus. Perseus, through his avarice, deprives himself of the powerful aid of the Bastarnæ. Avarice and perfidy of Perseus in respect to Gentius. Rapid conquest of Illyricum by the Prætor Anicius. Perseus incamps advantageously. Paulus Æmilius reinstates discipline in his army. He discovers water in a place where it was wanting. News of the victory gained in Illyricum arrives. The ambassadors of the Rhodians arrive in the camp. Paulus Æmilius deliberates upon the manner of attacking Perseus. He sends Scipio Nasica with a great detachment to seize Pythium. He amuses Perseus by slight skirmishes upon the banks of the Enipeus. Scipio seizes Pythium, and remains in possession of the pass. Perseus quits the Enipeus, and advances towards Pydna, resolved to venture a battle there. Paulus Æmilius wisely defers engaging. Sulpicius Gallus foretells an eclipse of the Moon to the Romans. Paulus Æmilius explains his reasons for deferring the battle. The battle is at last fought. Perseus is defeated and put to flight.

A. R. 583.
Ant. C. 169.

Q. MARCIUS II.
CN. SERVILIUS.

General
concern at
Rome in
respect to
the ap-
proaching
election of
Consuls.
Plut. in
Æmil. p.
259, 260.

THE time of the assemblies for the election of Consuls approaching, every body was in pain concerning the person upon whom so important a choice would fall, and nothing else was talked of in all conversations. People were not satisfied with the Consuls who for three years past had been employed against Perseus, who had but very indifferently supported the honour of the Roman name. They called to mind the famous victories gained over Philip his father; that powerful King of Macedonia, who had been obliged to implore peace; over Antiochus, a Prince, whose famous exploits

exploits had acquired him the surname of *the Great*, A. R. 583.
Ant. C. 169. who had been driven beyond mount Taurus, and forced to pay a great tribute; and lastly, over a much more formidable enemy than any King upon earth, that is, over Hannibal, compelled some years before to quit Italy after a war of above sixteen years duration, and conquered in his own country almost at the very walls of Carthage. They conceived it a kind of disgrace for Rome, that its Consuls should be so long at blows with King Perseus, when he kept the field against them with only the miserable remains of his father's defeat. They did not know, that Philip had left Macedonia more powerful at his death, than it had been before his defeat.

It was evident, especially after the last news from Macedonia, that it was no longer a time to give the command of the armies to faction or favour, and that it was necessary to employ the utmost attention in chusing a General, who had wisdom, experience, and valour; in a word, who was capable of conducting a war so important as that now on foot.

All the world cast their eyes upon Paulus Æmilius. There are occasions when singular merit unites all suffrages in its favour; and nothing is more soothing than such a judgment, founded, not upon birth and credit, but upon the knowledge of the services a person has already done; upon the esteem which the troops have of his capacity, and the pressing occasion, which the State has of his wisdom and valour. Paulus Æmilius was near sixty years old: but age, without having at all impaired his strength, had only added to his character, maturity of counsel and prudence, still more necessary to a General than courage and bravery.

He

A. R. 583.
Ant. C. 169.

He had been elected Consul for the first time fourteen years before, and having acquired general esteem by his good conduct, he had ended his Consulship with a glorious victory, which had gained him the honour of a triumph. As he found himself capable of serving his country, he had desired a second Consulship, and had even once stood for it with those who aspired at that office. The People had rejected him: and Paulus Æmilius, having lost that hope, substituted the sweets of repose to the splendor of employments. As Augur, he applied himself solely to the affairs of religion; and as a father, to the education of his children. He was very reserved and frugal in every thing, that tended only to luxury and pomp, but noble and magnificent in respect to expences of honour and duty; in consequence of which he spared nothing to procure them an education worthy of their birth. Grammarians, rhetoricians, philosophers; sculptors, painters, masters expert in breaking and managing horses; hunters who taught youth the exercises of the chace; in a word, he gave his sons all the aids and masters that were necessary in forming both their minds and bodies. When he was not employed in publick affairs, he would be present at their studies and exercises (a), by these assiduous cares evincing, that of all the Romans he was the father, who had most love and tenderness for his children.

It were to be wished that this example were followed by all persons in high stations, who are indeed accountable for their time to the publick, but who are not thereby discharged from the cares, which they owe their children by a natural and imprescriptible right; and the more as labouring for their instruction is serving the publick.

(a) Φιλοκαλίτατος ἑρμαίων γινόμενος.

All the relations and friends of Paulus Æmilius pressed him to comply with the wishes of the People, who called upon him to accept the Consulship. As for himself he had no thoughts but of shunning the People's ardour, as not caring for command, and chusing rather to confine himself to the quiet life he had led sometime. However, when he saw that the people assembled every morning in crowds before his door, that they called upon him to go to the Forum, and exclaimed highly against his obstinate refusal, he could no longer resist such strong instances, and joined those who aspired at that dignity. This was matter of great joy and a kind of triumph to the Roman People, who considered, as a certain omen of victory over the enemy that which they had just gained over Paulus Æmilius, in forcing him to accept the Consulship. This honour was conferred upon him with unanimous consent. C. Licinius Crassus was given him for a Collegue. The People would not abandon the distribution of provinces to the caprice of chance, and decreed the command of the armies in Macedonia to Paulus Æmilius. Licinius commanded in Italy. Livy says, however, that they did draw lots. But Plutarch's account seems more probable: for the lots might have rendered the people's intention and ardour useless.

It is said that Paulus Æmilius on his return home attended by the people who followed him in a body to do him honour, found his daughter Tertia, than an infant, weeping. He kissed her and asked her the reason of her tears. Tertia clasping him in her little arms and kissing him: *You don't know then father, said she, that our Perseus is dead.* She spoke of a little dog, which she had brought up, and called *Perseus*. Paulus Æmilius, struck with those words said to her: *And in good time, my dear child, I accept the omen with great pleasure.* The Romans

A. R. 583. carried their superstition very high in respect to
 Ant. C. 169. these accidental circumstances.

Wise pre- The manner in which Paulus Æmilius applied
cautions of himself in preparing for the war, with which he
Paulus was charged, gave room to judge of the success to
Æmilius. be expected in consequence. Before he entered up-
 Liv. xlv. on office, he demanded of the Senate, that com-
 18. missioners should be sent into Macedonia to inspect
 the armies, and fleets, and afterwards to make their
 report, when they had made an exact enquiry, of
 what they had learnt, and what augmentation of
 troops both for land and sea-service would be
 necessary. They were also to inform themselves,
 as far as possible, to what number the King's
 troops amounted; where they actually were; as
 well as those of the Romans: if the latter had
 their camp in the defiles of the mountains, or had
 entirely passed them, and were in the plain: what
 allies were assuredly to be relied on; who those
 were, whose fidelity seemed doubtful and waver-
 ing; and what States were to be considered as de-
 clared enemies. For what time the army had pro-
 visions, and from whence they were to be brought
 either by land-carriage or in vessels. And lastly,
 what had passed during the last campaign, as well
 by land as sea. As an able and experienced General,
 he was desirous to enter into this detail, convinced
 that the plan of the campaign, upon which he was
 going to enter, could not be formed, nor the
 operations regulated without the knowledge of all
 these things. Persons skilled in military affairs,
 know of what value this foresight and exactness
 are, which cannot be carried too far. The Senate
 highly approved such wise measures, and nominated
 Commissioners approved by Paulus Æmilius, who
 set out two days after.

L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS II.

A. R. 584.

C. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

Ant. C. 168.

Paulus Æmilius and his Collegue entered upon office before the Commissioners returned. In that interval the Senate gave audience to the Ambassadors of Ptolemy and Cleopatra King and Queen of Egypt, who brought complaints to Rome against the unjust enterprizes of Antiochus King of Syria. Three Deputies were sent to Egypt. This affair is related at length in the VIIIth Volume of the Antient History.

The Commissioners had used great diligence. On their return, to Rome, they said; "That Marcius had forced the passes of Macedonia, but with greater danger than advantage. That the King was master of Pieria, into which a Roman army had entered. That the two camps were very near each other, being only separated by the river Enipæus. That the King avoided a battle, and that the Roman army was not in a condition either to oblige him to fight, or to force his lines. That amongst other inconveniences, the winter had proved very severe, was very sharply felt in a mountainous country, and made it utterly impossible to act; and that provisions only for a short time remained. That the Macedonian army was said to amount to thirty thousand men, That if Appius Claudius had had a sufficiently considerable body of troops in the neighbourhood of Lychmidum in Illyricum, where he was encamped, he would have been able to make a powerful diversion against Perseus: but that that General, and the troops he had with him, were actually in great danger, if a considerable reinforcement were not immediately sent him,

A. R. 584. " or he was not made to quit the post he occupied,
 Ant. C. 168. " That after having visited the camp, they had re-
 " paired to the fleet. That they had been informed.
 " that part of the men had died of disease, and
 " that those who escaped, especially the Sicilians,
 " were returned home; and that the fleet was ab-
 " solutely in the utmost want of seamen and soldi-
 " ers: that those who had remained had not receiv-
 " ed their pay, and were in want of cloaths.
 " That Eumenes and his fleet, after having shewn
 " themselves a little, had disappeared almost im-
 " mediately without any good reasons that could
 " be given for it; and that it seemed as if they
 " neither could, nor ought to rely upon his disposi-
 " tion: but that as to Attalus his brother, his
 " good will was not to be doubted."

*The de-
 parture of
 the Gene-
 rals is
 hastened.*
 Liv. xliv.
 21.

Upon this report of the Commissioners, the Senate decreed that the Consul should set out immediately for Macedonia, as well as the Prætor Cn. Octavius, who had the command of the fleet, and L. Anicius another Prætor who was to succeed Appius Claudius in the neighbourhood of Lychnidum in Illyricum. The number of troops, which each of them was to command, was regulated in the following manner.

*The num-
 ber of
 their
 troops.*

The troops, which composed the army of Paulus Æmilius, amounted to twenty five thousand eight hundred men; being two Roman legions each of six thousand foot and three hundred horse, which made twelve thousand six hundred men, more than that number of infantry, and double the cavalry of the Latin allies. The rest of the troops assigned him, were to reinforce garrisons. Those which composed the army of the Prætor Anicius, who was to command in Illyricum, amounted to twenty one thousand eight hundred men; being two Roman legions, each consisting of five thousand two hundred foot and three hundred horse; with

with ten thousand Latin infantry and eight hundred horse. The Prætor Octavius Admiral of the fleet had five thousand men assigned him, who were to serve under him.

As it was proposed to terminate the war with Macedonia this year, all the precautions, that could be imagined for the good of the service were taken. The Tribunes of the soldiers were the principal officers of the legion, and commanded it alternately. It was said, that none ought to be chosen for this employment, except such as had commanded; and of the forty eight Tribunes, which were to be appointed for the eight legions, which the Commonwealth had on foot, Paulus Æmilius had the liberty of chusing such as he pleased to the number of twelve for the two legions which were to serve under him.

Rome, it must be owned, acted on this occasion with great wisdom. She had, as we have seen, elected with unanimous consent for Consul and General, the person who of all the Romans was indisputably the most able warrior of his time. She is now for raising officers to the post of Tribunes, who have the most merit, experience, and ability, proved by actual services; advantages, which are not always the effect either of birth or seniority, and to which indeed the Romans were far from being much prejudiced. Rome does more, and by a singular exception, compatible with Republican Government, she gives Paulus Æmilius full power to chuse amongst the Tribunes such as he should approve; well knowing of what importance it is, that a perfect union should subsist between a General and the officers that serve under him; in order that the commands given by the first, who is in a manner the soul of the whole army, and ought to direct all its motions, be executed with the utmost exactness: which cannot be, if a perfectly good

A. R. 584.
Ant. C. 168.

understanding, founded in the love of the publick good, does not prevail amongst them, which neither interest, ambition, nor jealousy are capable of interrupting.

*Speech of
Paulus*

Æmilius

before his

departure.

Liv. xlv.

22.

After all these regulations had been made, the Consul Paulus Æmilius went from the Senate to the assembly of the People, and made the following speech. Romans, in charging me with the care of the war of Macedonia with unanimous consent, you seem to have conceived an almost certain hope, that this war, which has spun out to a great length, will be terminated under my auspices to the glory of the Roman People. I hope, that I shall be supported by the protection of the gods in so great an undertaking, and fulfil your desires: but this I may venture to assure you, that I shall use my utmost endeavours not to frustrate your expectation.

The Senate has wisely regulated every thing necessary for the expedition, with which I am charged, and as it has ordered me to set out immediately, if I leave any thing undone in respect to the levy and departure of the troops allotted for me, I know that C. Licinius my Collegue, full of zeal for the publick good, and affection for me, will provide for it with the same ardor and expedition, as if it was for himself.

I shall take care to give you exact accounts of all that shall happen, and you may rely upon the certainty and truth of the news I shall send either to the Senate or you. But I desire as a favour that you will neither believe nor give weight by your credulity to flying reports, and such as have no certain author. For in the manner in which things pass amongst you, especially since this war, there is no General, let his constancy of mind be what it will, whom the discourses held here would not shake and discourage.

There are people, who in circles and conversations, and even at table lead armies, regulate the motions of the Consuls, and lay down all the operations of the campaign.

campaign. They know better than the General, who is upon the spot, where he should incamp, and of what posts he should seize : where it is proper to settle magazines : by what way, either by sea or land, provisions must be brought : when it is necessary to give the enemy battle, and when to lie still. And they not only prescribe what is best to be done, but if their plan be ever so little departed from, they make it a crime in the Consul, and cite him to their tribunal.

A. R. 584.
Ant. C. 168.

Know, Romans, that this licence taken at Rome, is a great obstacle to the success of your arms and the publick good. All your Generals have not the steadiness and constancy of Fabius, who chose rather to see his authority insulted by the rashness of an indiscreet and frantick multitude, than to ruin the affairs of the Commonwealth, by piquing himself at a wrong time upon bravery to put a stop to popular rumours.

I am far from believing that Generals have no occasion to receive advice. On the contrary, I think, that whoever desires to direct every thing by his single abilities, and without taking counsel, shews more presumption than wisdom. What then may be reasonably required ? Why that none should take upon themselves to obtrude their advice upon your Generals, but those in the first place who are versed in the art of war, and who have learnt by experience what it is to command ; and secondly, those who are upon the spot, who know the enemy, are capable of judging of different conjunctures, and who, being in a manner embarked on board the same vessel, share the same dangers with us. If therefore any one conceives himself capable of assisting me with his counsels in the war with which you have charged me, let him not refuse his services to the Commonwealth, but let him go along with me into Macedonia : ship, horses, tents, provisions, in a word, he shall have every thing at my expence. But, if he will not take these pains, and prefers the quiet life of the city to the dangers and fatigues

A. R. 584.
Ant. C. 168.

of the camp, let him not take upon him to hold the helm, and remain idle in the port. If they have so great an itch for talking, the city, of itself, will supply them with sufficient matter : this is not within their sphere. In a word, I would have them know, that we shall have no regard to any counsels, but such as shall be given in the camp itself.

Plut. in
Paul.
Æmil.

It is not possible to conceive, how much this discourse, in which Paulus Æmilius spoke to his masters with a wise and noble loftiness, requiring of them not to amuse themselves, according to their custom, in controuling the actions of their General, drew upon him their esteem and respect. Every citizen in particular applauded himself for having had the courage to despise the flattery of those, who meanly solicited voices, in the choice of a Consul, and for having confided the command of the army to a man full of greatness of mind and freedom, who refused it : so much, says Plutarch, did the Roman People, for the sake of reigning over others, make themselves slaves to virtue and true merit.

For the rest, the abuse of which Paulus Æmilius complains in this discourse dictated by reason and good sense, shews us that men are at all times the same. They take a secret pleasure and make it a merit in themselves to examine, criticise, and condemn the conduct of Generals, and they do not perceive, that they act manifestly contrary both to good sense and equity. Contrary to good sense : for what can be more absurd and ridiculous, than to see persons of no knowledge of war and void of all experience, set themselves up for Censors of the most able Generals, and pass sentence upon their actions in the stile of masters. Contrary to equity : for even the most expert cannot judge properly of them without being upon the spot, the least circumstance of time, or place, the disposition of the troops and
even

even secret orders which are not known, being A. R. 584.
Ant. C. 168. capable of absolutely changing the ordinary rules. But we are not to hope, that this fault will ever be corrected, which has its rise in the curiosity and vanity natural to man; and Generals act wisely, who, after the example of Paulus Æmilius, despise these city rumours, and the tattle of idle people, who have generally more leisure than judgment.

Paulus Æmilius, after having performed the Departure duties of religion, set out for Macedonia with the of Paulus Prætor Cn. Octavius, who was to command the Æmilius. fleet. Never was Consul, in departing for his Liv. xlv.
22. province, attended by so great a multitude of citizens. From that instant, the Romans in general conceived a kind of assurance, that he would terminate the war of Macedonia, and soon return to Rome victorious and triumphant.

Whilst preparations of war had been making at Prepara- Rome, Perseus on his side had not been inactive. tions of The fear of the approaching danger with which he Perseus a- was threatened, having at length taken place of his gainst the avarice, he agreed to give Gentius King of Illyri- Romans. cum three hundred talents of silver (three hundred Different thousand crowns) and to purchase his alliance at embassies that price. of that

At the same time he sent Ambassadors to Gentius, Rhodes, convinced that if that island, which was the Rho- then so powerful by sea, should join him, Rome dians, Eu- would be highly distressed. He sent others also to menes and Eumenes and Antiochus, the two greatest Kings of Antiochus. Asia, who were highly capable of aiding him. Polyb. It Legat 85, was wise in Perseus to take these measures, and to Liv. xlv.
23—25. endeavour to strengthen himself by such supports: but he thought of them too late. He should have began there, and laid the foundation of his enterprize in those alliances. He did not seriously think of calling in those remote powers, till the danger was too near; which was rather to call in specta-
tors

A. R. 534. tors and associates in his ruin, than aids and supports.
 Ant. C. 168.

The instructions, which he gave his Ambassadors were very solid, and highly capable of convincing, as we shall soon see: but he should have used them, three years before, and waited the effect of them, before he had embarked alone in a war against so powerful a people, who had so many resources in their misfortunes.

The Ambassadors had the same instructions for Eumenes and Antiochus. They represented to them, “ that there was a natural enmity between
 “ Monarchies and Commonwealths. That the Ro-
 “ man People attacked the Kings one after the
 “ other; and to make the indignity as great as
 “ possible, employed the forces of the Kings
 “ themselves to ruin each other successively.
 “ That they had crushed his father Philip by the
 “ aid of Attalus; that by that of Eumenes, and
 “ partly also by that of Philip, Antiochus had
 “ been subdued; and that they had actually
 “ armed Eumenes and Prusias against Perseus
 “ himself. That when the kingdom of Macedo-
 “ nia should be destroyed, it would be Asia’s turn
 “ next, of which they had already possessed
 “ themselves of a part, under the specious pretext
 “ of reinstating the cities in their antient liberty,
 “ and that Syria would soon after have the same
 “ fate. That they already began to set Prusias
 “ above Eumenes by peculiar distinctions of hon-
 “ our; and that they had * obliged Antiochus
 “ to renounce the fruit of his victories in Egypt.
 “ Perseus exhorted them, either to prevail upon
 “ the Romans to leave Macedonia in peace; or, if
 “ they persevered in the unjust design of making
 “ war upon him, to consider them as the common

* The fact, to which these words allude, will be related in the beginning of the next book.

"enemies of all Kings." The Ambassadors acted openly, and without evasions with Antiochus.

A. R. 584.
Ant. C. 163.

As to Eumenes, they covered their voyage with the pretext of ransoming prisoners, and treated only in secret concerning the real cause of it. There had already been many conferences at different times, and in different places, upon that head, which had made that Prince very much suspected by the Romans. It was not at bottom, because Eumenes desired, that Perseus might be victorious over the Romans: the enormous powers which he would have had in consequence would have given him umbrage, and not a little inflamed his jealousy. Neither was he inclined to declare openly, or to declare war, against him. But, believing that both parties were equally inclined to peace, Perseus through fear of the misfortunes that might happen to him, and the Romans through disgust of a war that had already been spun out to a very great length; his view was to be a mediator of this peace, and to sell his mediation, or at least his inaction and neutrality dear to Perseus. The price was already agreed upon, which was a thousand talents (about an hundred and fifty thousand pounds) not to give the Romans any aid either by sea or land, and fifteen hundred talents (two hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds) to prevail upon them to give Perseus peace. The only dispute that remained, was about the time of payment. Perseus was for staying till the service was done, and in the mean time to deposite the money in the island of Samothracia. Eumenes did not think the sum thereby sufficiently secured to him; because Samothracia was dependent upon Perseus, and he insisted that part of the money should be immediately paid down. This broke up the
the

A. R. 584.
Ant. C. 168.

the treaty, which was neither for the honour of the one or the other.

*Perseus
loses the
powerful
aid of the
Bastarnæ
by his a-
varice.
Plut. in
Paul.
Æmil.
260, 261.
Liv. xliv.
26, 27.*

Perseus failed also in another, which would not have been less to his advantage. He had caused a body of Gaulish troops to march to his aid from the other side of the Danube, consisting of ten thousand horse and as many foot, and he had agreed to give ten peices of gold to each of the horse, five to each foot soldier, and a thousand to their General. These Gauls were the same, of whom we have spoken already under the name of the Bastarnæ, a Gaulish Colony settled upon the banks of the Borysthenes, now called the Nieper. This nation was not accustomed either to till the ground, feed cattle, or to trade; they lived by war, and sold their service to such states as would employ them. When he received advice, that they were arrived upon the frontiers of his dominions, he went to meet them with half his troops, and gave orders, that the towns and villages, through which they were to pass should have provisions prepared for them in abundance, as corn, wine and cattle. He had some presents for the principal officers, as horses, furniture, arms, and vests. To this he added some money, which was to be distributed amongst a few. And as to the multitude, he believed that the hopes of something future would suffice to attract them. The King stopped near the river * Axius, and encamped there with his troops.

He deputed Antigonus, one of the principal persons of his court, to the Gauls, who were about five and twenty leagues from thence. Antigonus was surprized, when he saw men of extraordinary stature dexterous in all the exercises of the body, expert in the use of arms, haughty and bold in expressions, and full of menaces and bravadoes. He

* *In Mygdonia.*

dwelt much upon the orders his master had given for their good reception in all the places through which they should pass, and the presents he had prepared for them: he afterwards invited them to advance to a certain place, which he mentioned, and to send their principal persons to the King. The Gauls were not people to be paid with words. Clondicus the chief and King of these strangers, proceeded directly to the point, and asked whether he had brought the money agreed upon. As no positive answer was given him; *Go, said he, tell your Prince, that till he sends the hostages and money agreed on, the Gauls shall not stir from hence.* The King on the return of his Deputy assembled his council. He foresaw their opinions; and as he was a much better guardian of his money, than of his kingdom, to cloak his avarice he expatiated very much upon the perfidy and ferocity of the Gauls, adding that it would be dangerous to suffer so great a multitude of them to enter Macedonia, from whom every thing was to be apprehended, and that five thousand of their horse would suffice. Every body saw, that he was only in fear for his money, but no body ventured to contradict him.

Antigonus returned to the Gauls, and told them, that his master had occasion for only five thousand horse. On those words a general murmur and rage arose against Perseus, who had made them come so far to insult them. Clondicus having again asked Antigonus, whether he brought money for the five thousand horse, as the latter sought evasions, and did not answer to the purpose, the Gauls were in the highest fury, and were very near falling upon him to cut him in pieces which he himself very much apprehended. However they respected the quality of deputy, and dismissed him without any bad treatment. The Gauls set out immediately, resumed

A. R. 584.
Ant. C. 168.

A. R. 584. resumed their route to the Danube, and ravaged
 Ant. C. 168. Thrace, which was on their way.

Perseus, with so considerable a reinforcement, might have given the Romans no small trouble. He might have made the Gauls enter Theſſaly, where they might have plundered the flat country, and taken the strongest places. In consequence, by continuing quiet near the river Enipeus, he would have made it impracticable for the Romans either to have penetrated into Macedonia, of which he shut up the entrance by his troops, or of subsisting longer in the country, because they could not, as before, have had their provisions from Theſſaly, which would have been entirely laid waste. Avarice, which was his ruling passion, prevented him from using so great an advantage.

*Avarice
 and perfidy
 of Perseus
 in respect
 to Gentius*

Liv. xliv.

72.

Plut. in

Paul. Æm.

261.

It also prevented him from the benefit he might have had from another alliance, upon which he ought to have set a great value. Press'd by the state of his affairs, and the extreme danger that menaced him, he had at last consented to give Gentius the three hundred talents he had asked above an year for raising troops and fitting out a fleet. Pantauchus had negotiated this treaty for the King of Macedonia, and had began by advancing the Illyrian Prince ten talents (ten thousand crowns) of the sum promised him. Gentius made his Ambassadors set out, and with them trusty persons to bring away the rest of the money. He also ordered them, when every thing should be terminated, to join the Ambassadors of Perseus, and to go with them to Rhodes, in order to induce that Republick to make an alliance with them. Pantauchus had represented to him, that if the Rhodians came in to it, Rome could not hold out against the three powers united. Perseus received these Ambassadors with all possible marks of distinction. After hostages had been exchanged on both sides, and the usual oaths taken,

it

it only remained to deliver the two hundred and ninety talents. The Ambassadors and Agents of the Illyrian Prince repaired to Pella, where the money was told out to them, and put into chests; sealed with the seal of the Ambassadors in order to its being carried to Illyricum. This seemed to make it secure enough for Gentius. Perseus had given secret directions to those, who were to carry it, to move slowly and by short days journeys, and, when they should arrive on the frontiers of Macedonia, to stop there and to wait his orders. During all this time, Pantauchus, who had remained at the court of Illyricum, pressed the King very much to declare against the Romans by some act of hostility. Gentius had already received ten talents by way of earnest, and having been advised that the whole sum was upon the road, he reckoned it already in his coffers. Upon the repeated instances, of Pantauchus, in violation of all rights human and divine, he imprisoned two Roman Ambassadors which were then at his court, under pretext that they were spies.

As soon as Perseus had received the news of this step, believing him sufficiently and irretrievably embroiled with the Romans in effect, he made those who carried the three hundred talents return, congratulating himself secretly upon the success of his perfidy, which had saved his money. But he only kept it and laid it up for the enemy, whereas he ought to have used it for defending himself against, and conquering them. He ought to have known, that it was the maxim of Philip and Alexander, the most illustrious of his predecessors, *That victory should be purchased with money, and money not saved at the expence of victory.*

The Ambassadors of Perseus and Gentius being arrived at Rhodes, were highly well received. The decree was imparted to them, by which the Republick

A. R. 584.
Ant. C. 168.

A. R. 584.
Ant. C. 168.

publick had resolved to employ its whole credit, and all its forces to oblige the two parties to make peace, and to declare against that, which should refuse to enter into an accommodation.

At the beginning of the spring, the Roman Generals had repaired to their respective provinces: the Consul to Macedonia, Octavius to Oreum with the fleet, and Anicius to Illyricum.

Rapid conquest of Illyricum by the Prætor Anicius.
Liv. xlv.
30—32.

The success of the last was as rapid as happy. He was to make war against Gentius. He terminated it, before Rome knew that it was began. It continued only thirty days. As soon as he entered Illyricum, all the cities submitted to him with the more ease, as he treated the conquered with abundance of clemency and justice. Gentius shut himself up in Scodra his capital: and having made a salley without success, he lost courage, and came to throw himself at the feet of Anicius, imploring his mercy, and confessing with tears in his eyes, his fault, or rather phrenzy, in having taken arms against the Romans. The Prætor treated him with humanity. His first care was to take the two Ambassadors out of prison. He sent one of them, called Perperna, to Rome with the news of his victory; and some few days after, caused Gentius, his mother, wife, children, brother, with the principal Lords of the country, to be carried thither. The sight of such illustrious prisoners highly increased the people's joy. Publick thanksgivings were made to the gods, and great crowds of persons of all ages and sexes went to the temples.

Perseus incamps advantageously.
Plut. in Paul Æm.
Liv. xlv.
32.

Paulus Æmilius did not remain inactive on his side. When he approached the enemy, he found Perseus advantageously incamped near the sea at the foot of mount Olympus, in places that seemed inaccessible. He had the Enipeus before him, which might be forded, but its banks were very high; and on that which was on his side, he had raised good

good works with towers from space to space, where he had planted balistas, and other machines to discharge darts and stones upon the enemy, if they ventured to approach them. Perseus had so fortified himself here, that he believed himself in absolute security, and was in hopes of wasting and at length of discouraging Paulus Æmilius by length of time, and the difficulties he would have in subsisting his troops, and maintaining his ground, in an enemy's country.

He did not know what kind of an adversary was sent against him. Paulus Æmilius was solely intent upon preparing every thing for an action, and continually meditated every kind of expedient for rendering all the enemy's precautions ineffectual. He began by establishing a strict and severe discipline in his army, which had been corrupted by the licentiousness in which it had been suffered to live. He reformed many things, as well in respect to the manner in which the General's orders were to be distributed in the army, as to the sentinels and guards. The soldiers had been accustomed to criticize upon their General, to examine into all his actions, to prescribe him his duty, and to lay down what he was, and was not, to do. He spoke to them with steadiness and dignity, as he had done at Rome to the citizens. He gave them to understand, "that such discourses
 " ill became a soldier: that he ought to be intent
 " only upon three things; the care of his body,
 " to render it robust and active; of his arms, in
 " order that they might always be clean and in
 " good condition; and to have always provisions
 " dressed, that he might be ready to march on the
 " first notice. That as to the rest, he ought to
 " rely upon the goodness of the Immortal Gods,
 " and the General's vigilance. That as to him,
 " he should omit nothing that might be necessary

Paulus Æmilius reinstates discipline in his army.
 Liv. xliv.
 33, 34.
 Plut.

A. R. 584. " to give them occasion to shew their courage:
 Ant. C. 168. " that they had only to take care to do their duty
 " well, when the signal should be given them."

When things are reasonable in themselves, and are spoken with an air of dignity and authority, they always make impression. It cannot be expressed, how much this discourse, though mixed with a kind of reprimand, pleased and animated the troops. The old soldiers declared, that they had not learnt their duty till that day. A wonderful change was soon perceived in the camp. No body was idle in it. The soldiers were seen sharpening their swords; polishing their helmets, cuirasses and bucklers; practising to move nimbly under arms, brandishing their javelins, and handling their naked swords; in a word, breaking and inuring themselves to all the military exercises: so that it was easy to judge, that on the first occasion they should have of coming to blows with the enemy, they were determined to conquer or die.

*Paulus
 Æmilius
 discovers
 water in
 places
 where it
 was
 wanting.
 Liv. xliv.
 33.
 Plut.*

The camp was situated very advantageously in all respects, except the want of water, which was a great inconvenience to the army. Paulus Æmilius, whose presence of mind extended to every thing, seeing mount Olympus before him very high, and covered with very branching green trees, judged from the number and quality of them, that there must necessarily be springs in the earth of that mountain, and gave orders to open the ground at the bottom, and to dig pits in the sand. They had not dug far before streams of water appeared from several sources, at first muddy in small quantity, but soon after very clear and abundant. This event, which was merely natural, was considered by the soldiers, as a singular favour of the gods, who had taken Paulus Æmilius under their protection, which made him still more

more the object of their affection and respect.

A. R. 584.
Ant. C. 168.

When Perseus saw what passed in the Roman camp, the ardor of the soldiers, the pains they took, and the exercises by which they were preparing for battle, he was not a little anxious, and plainly perceived, that he had no longer to do with a Licinius, an Hostilius, or a Marcius, and that every thing was changed in the Roman army with the General. He redoubled his cares and attention on his side, animated the soldiers, applied himself also in forming them by different exercises, added new intrenchments to the old ones, and spared no pains to cover his camp from insult.

In the mean time arrived the news of the victory gained over the Illyrians, and of the taking of the King with his whole family. This occasioned incredible joy in the Roman army, and an extreme ardor amongst the soldiers to signalize themselves in the same manner on their side.

News of the victory gained in Illyricum arrives.
Liv. xliv. 34, 35.

For it is common between two armies, that act in different parts, for the one to be unwilling to give place to the other in valour and glory. Perseus at first endeavoured to suppress this news: but the care he took to disguise it, served only to make it more publick and certain. The alarm spread universally amongst his troops, and made them dread a like fate.

It was at this time, that the Rhodian Ambassadors came to make the same proposal to Paulus Æmilius, which had excited such great indignation in the Senate at Rome. It is easy to judge in what manner it was received in the camp. Some, transported with rage, were for having them dismissed with insult. The Consul thought his contempt was better expressed, by telling them coldly, that he would give them an answer in fifteen days.

Ambassadors from the Rhodians arrive in the camp.
Liv. xliv. 35.

A. R. 584.

Ant. C. 168.

Paulus

Æmilius

deliberates

upon the

manner of

attacking

Perseus.

Ibid.

To shew the little regard he had for the pacifick mediation of the Rhodians, he assembled his counsel of war, to deliberate upon measures for entring upon action. Some were for endeavouring to force the intrenchments of the enemy upon the banks of the Enipeus: they declared that the Macedonians, who had been driven the year before from higher and better fortified places, could not sustain the charge of the Roman Legions. Others were of opinion, that Octavius, with the fleet, should go to Theſſalonica to ravage the sea-coast, in order to oblige the King, by that diversion, to withdraw part of his troops from the Enipeus for the defence of his country, and thereby leave some pass open. It is of great importance for an able and experienced General to be at liberty to act according to the dictates of his own judgment. Paulus Æmilius had quite different views. He saw that the bank of the Enipeus, as well by its natural situation, as the fortifications that had been added to it, was inaccessible. Besides which, he knew, not to mention the machines planted on all sides, that the enemy's troops were much more expert than his in discharging javelins and arrows. To undertake forcing such impenetrable lines, had been to expose the troops to slaughter; and a good General spares the blood of his soldiers, because he considers himself as their father, and believes he owes them the same care as he does his children.

He sends
Scipio Na-
fica with
a great
detachment
to seize
Pythium.

He therefore lay still during some days without making the least motion. In all other times the soldiers, full of ardor and impatience, would have murmured: but Paulus Æmilius had taught them to acquiesce in his conduct. At length, in effect of enquiring and gaining intelligence, he was informed by two Parrhæbian merchants, whose prudence and fidelity were known to him, that there

there was a way, which led to Pythium, a place A. R. 584.
Ant. C. 168. situated upon the top of mount Olympus; that this way was not of difficult access, but that it was well guarded: Perseus had sent a detachment of five thousand men thither. Paulus Æmilius conceived, that if this body of troops could be surprized by a sudden and unforeseen attack, it would perhaps be easy to drive them out of that post and to seize it.

The question was to amuse the enemy, and conceal his design. He sent for the Prætor Octavius, and having opened himself to him, he ordered him to go to Heraclea with his fleet; and to take with him provision enough for a thousand men for ten days; in order to make Perseus believe, that his intent was to ravage the sea coast. At the same time he made Scipio Nasica, the son-in-law of Scipio Africanus, set out with Fabius Maximus his son, then very young; gave them a detachment of five thousand chosen troops, and made them take their route for the sea towards Heraclea, as if they were to embark there, as had been proposed in the counsel of war. When they were arrived, Nasica imparted the orders he had received to the principal officers. As soon as it was night, they quitted the way towards the sea, and advanced without halting towards Pythium over the rocks and mountains, conducted by the Perrhæbian guides. They had concerted to arrive there the third day, and to attack the fort towards the end of the night.

In the mean time Paulus Æmilius, to amuse Paulus
Æmilius
amuses
Perseus by
sight skir-
mishes upon
the banks
of Enipeus. the enemy, and to employ him in such a manner by present objects, that he might have no thoughts of any thing else, the next day early in the morning detached his light armed troops to attack the Macedonians, who guarded the entrance of the river, the declivity of whose banks on each side

A. R. 584.
Ant. C. 168.

were three hundred paces in depth from the top to the bottom, and the stream was above a thousand broad. It was in this space that the action passed in view of the King and the Consul, who were each with their troops in the front of their camp. The Consul caused the retreat to be sounded about noon. The loss was very near equal on both sides. The next day the battle began again in the same manner, and almost at the same hour: but it was warmer, and continued longer. The Romans had not only to do with those, with whom they were engaged; but sustained a shower of darts and stones discharged upon them by the enemy from the tops of the towers disposed along the shore. The Consul lost abundance more men this day, and made his troops retire later. The third day Paulus Æmilius lay still, and seemed to intend to attempt another passage near the sea, Perseus did not in the least suspect the danger, that threatened him.

*Scipio takes
Pythium,
and opens
himself a
passage.
Plut. in
Æmil.*

Scipio arrived in the night of the third day near Pythium. His troops were much fatigued; and he rested them during the remainder of the night. The Macedonian officers, who guarded the pass at Pythium, were so negligent, that nobody perceived the approach of the Romans. Scipio, according to Polybius, found them asleep, and had no difficulty to dislodge them from that post. Most of them were killed: the rest escaped by flight, and carried terror into the camp.

*Perseus
quits the
Enipeus,
and retires
to Pydna,
resolved to
hazard a
battle.
Plut. ibid.*

Perseus seized with dread, and apprehending that the Romans, after having opened themselves that passage, would attack him in the rear, immediately decamped for his greater security. He afterwards held a great counsel upon the measures it was necessary to take. The question was to know whether he should stop before the walls of Pydna, an adjacent and well fortified city, to try
the

the event of a battle, or divide his troops into the places of strength, and expect the enemy there, who could not subsist long in a country, which he should take care to destroy, and which could supply neither forage for the horses, nor provisions for the men. This last method had great inconveniences, and argued a Prince reduced to the last extremity, without either resource or hope; not to mention the hatred, which the ravaging of the lands, commanded and executed by the King in person, would excite against him. Accordingly the principal officers represented to him, that his army was much superior to that of the Romans; that the troops were resolved to do their duty well, being to defend their wives and children; that being himself the witness of all their actions and fighting at their head, they would behave with double vigour, and emulate each other in giving proofs of their valour. These reasons reanimated the Prince. He retired under the walls of Pydna, established his camp there, prepared to give battle, forgot nothing for his advantage that the situation of places would afford, assigned each their posts, and gave all the necessary orders, resolved to attack the Romans as soon as they should appear.

A. R. 584.
Ant. C. 168.

In the mean time Paulus Æmilius having joined Scipio's detachment, marched against the enemy in order of battle, keeping always along the coast of the sea, from whence the Roman fleet sent him provisions in small barks. When he came in view of the Macedonians, and had considered the good disposition of their army, and the number of their troops, he halted to consider upon what he had to do.

*Paulus
Æmilius
wisely de-
fers the
battle.*

The place where Perseus was incamped was an open level country, very proper for drawing up in battle a body of heavy-armed foot, as the pha-

A. R. 584.
Ant. C. 168.

lanx was. On the right and left were small eminences, which being contiguous to each other, afforded a secure retreat to the light-infantry and troops armed with missive weapons, and gave them means to conceal their motions, and to surround the enemy by attacking them on the flanks.

It was now the hottest part of the summer, and near noon. The Roman troops had made a long march, in a way full of dust, and burnt up by the sun. Their heat and weariness were evident; and at this time of the day, it was plain that both must increase. Paulus Æmilius resolved therefore, for all these considerations, not to bring them to blows with an enemy entirely fresh and reposed.

But the desire of fighting was so warm in both armies, that the Consul had no less difficulty to elude the ardor of his own soldiers, than to repel that of the enemy. As they were not all drawn up in battle yet, he affected to order the Tribunes to repair each to his post. He ran through the ranks, exhorting his troops to do their duty well. And at first they demanded the signal with great eagerness. But insensibly, and in proportion as the sun grew hotter, the air of their countenances appeared less animated, the tone of their voices grew fainter, and some of them, already fatigued, even leaned upon their shields and javelins. He then openly commanded the Captains of the legions to mark out a camp, and to post the baggage. The soldiers were rejoiced to find, that their General was not for leading them on to battle tired and fatigued as they were.

The Consul had around him his Lieutenants, and the commanders of the foreign troops, amongst whom was Attalus; who all approved his design of fighting, as they supposed; for they did not yet know his thoughts. When they saw he

he had changed his opinion, they all remained silent. Scipio, whose courage and boldness were much increased by his late success on mount Olympus, was the only one who ventured to speak, and to make warm instances to him. He represented, "that the Generals who had preceded him, had given the enemy by their delays occasion to escape out of their hands. That it was to be feared, that Perseus would fly in the night, and that they should be obliged to pursue him with great pains and danger across the impenetrable defiles of the mountains of Macedonia, as had happened in the past years. He therefore advised him, whilst the enemy was in the open field, to attack him directly, and not to lose so fair an occasion of defeating him."

Formerly, replied the Consul to Nasica, I had the same way of thinking as you have now, and you will one day think as I do at present. I will give you the reasons for my conduct at another time; till when, rely upon the prudence of an old General. The young officer said no more, well persuaded that the Consul had good reasons for acting as he did.

On saying this, he commanded, that the troops, who were at the head of the army in the view of the enemy, should draw up in battle, and present a front as with design to engage. They were disposed, according to the custom of the Romans, in three lines. At the same time the pioneers, covered by those troops, were at work in forming a camp. As the workmen were very numerous, the intrenchments were soon finished. The Consul then made his battallions file off gradually, beginning by the rear, which was next the workmen, and drew his whole army off into his intrenchments without confusion, disorder, or its being in the enemy's power to prevent it. The King,

Hastati,
Principes,
Triarii.

A. R. 584.
Ant. C. 168.

King, on his side, after having continued in order of battle during that day, made his troops also return into their camp, not omitting to observe to them, that it was the enemy who had declined fighting.

It (a) was an inviolable rule with the Romans, whether they were to stay but one day or night in a place, to shut themselves up in a camp, and to fortify it well. They thereby avoided all insult, and prevented all surprize. The soldiers considered this military abode as their city: the intrenchments served them instead of walls, and the tents for houses. In case of a battle, if the army was defeated, the camp served it for a retreat and an asylum; and if it was victorious, it found there a place of rest.

*Sulpicius
Gallus
foretels an
eclipse of
the moon to
the Ro-
mans.*

Liv. xliv.

37.

Plut. in

Æmyl.

When the Romans were safe within their works C. Sulpicius Gallus, Tribune of the second legion, who had been Prætor the year before, with the Consul's permission, assembled the soldiers, and informed them, " that the same night there would
" be an eclipse of the moon from the second hour
" of the night to the fourth, in order that they
" might not be terrified, as at a prodigy, by a
" phænomenon which happened at certain perio-
" dical times, from causes merely natural, and for
" which reason it was easy to foresee and declare
" it beforehand. That therefore, as they were
" not surprized at the rising and setting of the sun
" and moon, because both happened at certain
" known hours, no more than at the inequalities
" which they were accustomed to see in the disk
" of the moon, which was sometimes greater and

(a) *Majores vestri castra tentorium suum cuique militi munita portum ad omnes casus domus ac penates sunt— exercitus ducebant esse — Pa- Castra sunt victori receptacu- tria est militaris hæc sedes, lum, victo perfugium. Liv. vallumque pro mœnibus, & xliv. 39.*

“ sometimes less; so they ought not to consider
 “ the darkening of that star as a prodigious event,
 “ which was occasioned only by the shadow of the
 “ earth that hid it from our sight.”

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 Ant. C. 168.

This eclipse, which happened in the night upon the third or * fourth of August, caused Sulpicius to be considered by all the soldiers of the Roman army, as a man inspired by the gods; and filled the Macedonians with terror; as if it had been a prognostick of the ruin of the kingdom and of the whole nation. Nothing was heard in their camp but cries and howling, till the moon recovered its usual light.

The next day at sun-rise, Paulus Æmilius, who was a very religious observer of all the ceremonies prescribed in the sacrifices, or who rather was very superstitious, applied himself in offering oxen to Hercules. He sacrificed twenty, one after another, without being able to find any favourable sign in these victims. At last, in the one and twentieth, he imagined he saw one that promised him victory, if he only acted upon the defensive, and did not attack. At the same time he made a vow to sacrifice an hundred oxen to that god, and to celebrate publick games in honour of him.

Having finished all these ceremonies of religion about nine in the morning, he assembled the counsel of war. He had heard the complaints which were made of his slowness in attacking the enemy. He thought fit, in this assembly, to give an account of his conduct, especially in respect to Scipio, to whom he had promised it. “ His principal reasons for not giving battle the
 “ night before, were: First because the enemy’s
 “ army was much superior in number to his own,
 “ which he had been obliged to weaken confide-

Paulus Æmilius gives his reasons for deferring the battle.
 Liv. xliv.
 38.
 Plut.

* The reader may consult Mr. Crevier’s note 30 upon book xliv. of Livy.

“ rably

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Ant. C. 168.

“ rably by the great detachment necessary for
“ guarding the baggage. In the second place,
“ would it have consisted with prudence to have
“ engaged troops quite fresh with his, who were
“ exhausted by a long and painful march, by the
“ excessive weight of their arms, by the scorch-
“ ing heat of the sun, and by the thirst which
“ gave them great torment?” In the last place,
he strongly insisted upon the indispensable neces-
sity for a good General not to give battle before
he has a camp well intrenched behind him, which,
in case of accident, may serve as a retreat for the
army. He concluded his discourse with bidding
them prepare for a battle the same day.

We here (a) see the difference between the duty
of soldiers and subordinate officers, and that of a
General. The first have only to desire to fight
and to act well in battle: but it is the General’s
part, who ought to foresee, weigh, and compare
every thing, not to resolve without the most ma-
ture deliberation. And often, by a wise delay of
some days, or even of some hours, he saves an
army, which an inconsiderate ardor would have
exposed to the danger of perishing.

*Battle is
at length
given.
Perseus
defeated,
and flies.
Liv. xlv.
40, 41.
Plut.*

Though both sides had resolved to give battle,
it was however rather a kind of chance that
brought them to blows than the order of the Ge-
nerals, who were not in haste to engage on either
side. Some Thracian soldiers charged some Ro-
mans on their return from foraging. Seven hun-
dred Ligurians ran to the aid of those foragers.
The Macedonians made some troops advance to
sustain the Thracians; and the reinforcements sent

(a) Divisa inter exercitum tando, cunctatione sapius
ducesque munia. Militibus quam temeritate prodesse. *Ta-
cit. Hist. iii. 20.*
re: duces providendo, consul-

to both sides continually augmenting, the battle at length became general. A. R. 584.
Ant. C. 168.

It is a misfortune that we have lost the passage, in which Polybius, and Livy after him, described the order of this battle. This makes me incapable of giving a just idea of it; what Plutarch says of it being quite different from the little that remains of it in Livy.

The charge being given, the Macedonian phalanx distinguished themselves in a particular manner from the rest of the King's troops. Paulus Æmilius then advanced to the front, and found that the Macedonians, who formed the front of the phalanx, thrust the ends of their pikes into the shields of his soldiers, so that the latter, whatever efforts they made, could not reach them with their swords; and at the same time he saw the whole front-line of the enemy had their shields joined together with their pikes presented. This rampart of brass and forest of pikes impenetrable to his legions, filled him with astonishment and dread. He often spoke afterwards of the impression that terrible fight made upon him, so as to give him reason to apprehend being defeated. But not to discourage his troops, he concealed his anxiety from them, and assuming a gay and serene aspect, rode through all the ranks without helmet, or cuirass, animating them by his words, and still more by his example. The General, above sixty years old, was seen exposing himself to fatigue and danger like a young officer.

The * Peligni, who had attacked the Macedonian phalanx, not being able to break it with their utmost efforts, one of their officers took the ensign of his company, and threw it into the midst of the enemy. The soldiers upon that sprung for-

* *A people of Italy, who, as allies, furnished the Romans with troops.*

A. R. 584.
Ant. C. 168.

wards like men in despair to avoid the shame of losing their colours. Unheard of actions of valour in consequence passed on both sides with dreadful slaughter. The Peligni endeavoured to cut the pikes of the Macedonians with their swords, to force them to give way with their shields, to pull them out of their order with their hands, and to thrust them aside in order to open themselves an entrance. But the Macedonians keeping close order continually, and holding their pikes in both hands, presented a rampart of iron, and gave such wounds to those who advanced upon them, as penetrating their shields and armour, laid the boldest of the Peligni dead at their feet, who rushed on regardless of danger, like wild beasts, spitting themselves on their spears, and precipitating upon a death which they saw before their eyes.

The whole front-line being in consequence put into disorder, the second began to slacken and be discouraged. Paulus Æmilius saw with extreme grief, that his first troops had given way, and that the Romans did not dare to attack the phalanx. It presented a terrible front covered with long pikes in close order: and there seemed no means possible either for breaking or opening it. But at length the inequality of the ground, and the great extent of the front of battle, not permitting the enemy to continue this front of shields and pikes every where, Paulus Æmilius observed, that the phalanx of the Macedonians was forced to leave openings and spaces, and that it remained backwards on one side, whilst it advanced on the other. The Consul, like an able General that observed every thing, and who knew how to improve the occasion the instant it arose, dividing his troops into small parties, ordered them to throw themselves into the void spaces in the enemy's line of battle, and to attack them no longer in a body
in

in front, but by detached troops, and at different places all at once.

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This order, given so opportunely, occasioned the gaining of the battle. The Romans at first threw themselves into the spaces, and thereby made the enemy incapable of using their long pikes. They took them in flank and rear where they were uncovered. The phalanx was immediately broke, and its whole strength, which consisted solely in its union, and the effort it made in a body, vanished and was no more. When they came to fight hand to hand, or in separate platoons, the Macedonians with their little swords gave but weak strokes upon the shields of the Romans, which were strong and solid, and covered them almost from head to foot: and on the contrary, they opposed only small bucklers to the swords of the Romans, which were heavy and strong, and handled with such force and impetuosity, that they never discharged a stroke, that did not pierce, and break bucklers and armour in pieces, and make the blood appear. The phalanx being thus taken at disadvantage, resisted but weakly, and were at last entirely broke and put to the rout.

The King of Macedonia abandoning himself to his fear, had rode off full speed from the beginning of the battle, and retired into the city of Pydna, under pretext of sacrificing to Hercules: as if, says Plutarch, Hercules was a god to receive the abject sacrifices of cowards, and to hear impious vows: for it is not just that he, who dares not face an enemy, should gain a victory: whereas that god received the prayers of Paulus Æmilius favourably, because he employed victory sword in hand, and make himself worthy of it by fighting valiantly.

It was in attacking the phalanx, that the greatest effort was made, and from which the Romans found

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found most resistance. And it was there also, that Cato's son, the son-in-law of Paulus Æmilius, after having performed prodigies of valour, unfortunately lost his sword, which had slipped out of his hand. On this accident, out of his senses and inconsolable, he ran through the ranks, and drawing together a body of bold and determinate young persons, he fell with the utmost impetuosity, and in a manner desperate, upon the Macedonians. After extraordinary efforts and an horrible slaughter, he pushed them, and remained master of the ground; when himself and his followers sought for his sword, which was not found at last without great difficulty, under heaps of arms and dead bodies. Transported with this good fortune, and raising cries of victory, they threw themselves with new ardor upon such of the enemy as maintained their ground; so that at length a body of three thousand chosen Macedonians, who were the flower of the nation for strength and courage, was entirely cut to pieces, without one of them quitting their rank, or ceasing to fight to their last breath.

After the defeat of this body all the rest fled, and so great a number of them were killed, that the whole plain to the foot of the mountain, was covered with their bodies. It is said, that on the side of the Macedonians above five and twenty thousand perished: the Romans lost only an hundred men. (This seems very improbable; and perhaps there may have been some error in the cyphers.) They took eleven or twelve thousand prisoners.

The cavalry, who had not acted in the battle, seeing the defeat of the foot, had retired, and the Romans in their fury against the troops of the phalanx, had no thoughts at that time of pursuing them.

This

This great battle was decided in so short a time, that it began about three in the afternoon, and victory declared for the Romans before four. The rest of the day was passed in pursuing those who fled, which was done so far, that the troops did not return till late in the night. All the servants of the army ran out to meet their masters with great cries of joy, and lighted them with torches to their tents, where they had made illuminations, and covered them with * festoons of ivy and crowns of lawrel.

But in the midst of this joy, the General was in extreme affliction. Of the two sons which he had in this battle, the youngest who was but seventeen years of age, and whom he loved the most tenderly, because he even then gave great hopes of his future merit, was missing. It was apprehended that he was killed. The Camp was in a general alarm, and changed their cries of joy into a mournful silence. He was sought for amongst the dead with torches, but ineffectually. At last, when it was late in the night, and every body despaired of finding him, he returned from the pursuit, accompanied only by two of his companions, covered with the blood of the enemy. Paulus Æmilius thought to have found him amongst the dead, and did not taste the joy of his victory till that moment. He was reserved for other tears and losses no less sensible. The young Roman of whom we are speaking, was the second Scipio, who was afterwards surnamed Africanus and Numaptinus, from having ruined Carthage and Numantia. He had been adopted by the son of Scipio Africanus.

* This was the custom of the Romans. Caesar observes in the third book of the Civil War, that in Pompey's camp he found the tents of Lentulus and some others covered with ivy. L. etiam Lentuli & nonnullorum tabernacula protecta hederâ.

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The Consul immediately made three couriers of distinction set out, (Fabius his eldest son was one of them) to carry the news of the victory.

S E C T. IV.

Perseus flies from Pella to Amphipolis, and from thence into the island of Samothracia. The Consul marches in pursuit of that Prince. Perseus's letter to Paulus Æmilius. The Roman fleet anchors at Samothracia. Evander of Crete is accused and cited before the judges. The King causes him to be killed. He contrives to escape; and is betrayed by Oroandes. He surrenders himself to Octavius, who causes him to be carried to the Consul. Paulus Æmilius receives him and speaks mildly to him. Discourse of Paulus Æmilius to the young Romans. End of the war and of the kingdom of Macedonia. Fate of that kingdom. News of the victory of Paulus Æmilius brought to Rome. Commissioners appointed for Macedonia and Illyricum. Regulations in respect to those two new conquests. Anicius, after having reduced Epirus, returns into Illyricum. Promulgation of the new regulations concerning Illyricum. Paulus Æmilius visits the cities of Greece. He returns into Macedonia. He settles the affairs of that province in concert with the Commissioners. Young Scipio exercises himself in hunting. Paulus Æmilius gives magnificent games at Amphipolis. His noble disinterestedness. Epirus plundered. Paulus Æmilius arrives at Rome, and after him Anicius and Octavius. The Senate decrees them a triumph. The soldiers of Paulus Æmilius, at the instigation of Galba, combine to prevent his triumph. Speech of Servilius in favour of Paulus Æmilius. A triumph is granted him with unanimous consent. He loses two of his sons, the one before and the other after

after his triumph. His speech to the people. Perseus is kept under a guard with his son Alexander. Triumphs of Octavius and Anicius. The son of Cotys is set at liberty.

PERSEUS, after his defeat, lost no time. A. R. 584. Ant. C. 168. Continuing his flight from Pydna, he arrived Perseus in the night at Pella. Alarmed by the almost general desertion of his officers and courtiers, he did flies from Pella to Amphipolis, and from thence to Samothracia. not think himself safe there, and set out the same night for Amphipolis, carrying with him the greatest part of his treasures. When he arrived there, he sent Deputies to Paulus Æmilius with a Caduceus, to ask permission to make proposals to him. Liv. xliv. 44, 45. Plut. From Amphipolis he went to the island of Samothracia, and took refuge in the temple of Castor and Pollux. All the cities of Macedonia opened their gates to the victor, and made their submission.

The Consul having set out from Pydna, arrived The Consul the next day at Pella, the happy situation of marches which he admired. The King's treasures had been in pursuit of Perseus. kept in this city: but only the three hundred talents were then found Liv. xliv. 46. Plut. three (three hundred thousand crowns) which Perseus had caused to set out for Gentius King of Illyricum, and afterwards to be brought back. Paulus Æmilius being informed that Perseus was in Samothracia, repaired to Amphipolis, to go from thence to that island. He advanced into the Odomantic country, beyond Strymon, and incamped at * Sires.

He there received a letter from Perseus, which Letter of Perseus to Paulus Æmilius. was presented to him by three Deputies of no considerable birth and condition. He could not help shedding tears on reflecting upon the inconstancy Liv. xlv. 4.

* An obscure and unknown city at the western extremity of Macedonia.

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Anti. C. 168.

of human things, of which the present state of Perseus, compared with what it had been just before, gave him a very sensible example. But, when he saw the letter was inscribed in these words, *King Perseus to the Consul Paulus Æmilius, Health*; the stupidity of that Prince, in respect to his condition, says Livy, stifled all sense of compassion in him; and, though the style of the letter was humble and suppliant, and ill suited the royal dignity, he dismissed the Deputies without giving them an answer. What haughtiness had these proud Republicans, who in this manner in an instant degrade and depose an unfortunate King! Perseus then perceived what title he was from thenceforth to forget. He wrote a second letter, in which he only used his name without quality. He desired, that Commissioners might be sent to him, with whom he might treat: which was granted. This negotiation was ineffectual, because Perseus on one side would not depart from his title of King, and Paulus Æmilius on the other insisted, that he should submit entirely to the discretion of the Roman People.

The Roman fleet comes to Samothracia.

Liv. xlv.
5.

During this time, the Prætor Octavius, who commanded the fleet, had landed at Samothracia. He did not take Perseus by force from that asylum, out of respect for the gods who presided there; but he endeavoured by promises and threats to induce him to quit the temple and surrender himself to the Romans. His endeavours were ineffectual.

Evander

of Crete is accused and cited before the judges.

The King

causes him

to be killed.

A young Roman (called Atilius) either of his own head, or in concert with the Prætor, took another method for drawing the King out of his asylum. Having entered the Assembly of the Samothracians, which was then held, he said to them, *Is it with or without foundation, that your island is said to be holy, and throughout its whole extent*

tent to be sacred and inviolable? Every body having A. R. 584.
Ant. C. 163.
declared the island to be sacred: *Why, therefore,*
continued he, *is an homicide, contaminated with the*
blood of King Eumenes, suffered to violate so august
and sacred an abode? and whilst all the ceremonies of
religion are begun, by excluding from them those whose
hands are not pure, how can you suffer your temple
itself to be defiled and profaned by the presence of an
infamous murderer? This accusation regarded E-
vander, who, as every body knew, had been the
instrument of the assassination of Eumenes.

The Samothracians in consequence declared to
the King, that Evander was accused of assassina-
tion: that, according to the established laws of
their asylum, he should justify himself before the
judges; or, if he was afraid to do so, that he
should provide for his security, and quit the tem-
ple. The King having sent for Evander, ad-
vised him in the strongest terms not to submit to
such a sentence. He had reason to give him this
counsel, apprehending that he would declare, it
was by his order he had attempted this assassination.
Accordingly he gave him to understand, that he
had nothing left to chuse, but to die by his own
hands. Evander seemed to comply, and declaring
that he chose rather to use poison than the sword
for that effect, he was solely intent upon making
his escape by flight. The King being apprized of
this, and fearing that the Samothracians would
turn their wrath against him, as having saved the
criminal from the punishment he deserved, he
caused him to be killed. This was profaning the
asylum with a new crime: but he corrupted the
principal magistrate with great presents of money,
who declared in the Assembly, that Evander had
killed himself.

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*Perseus
contrives
to fly, but
is betrayed
by Oroan-
des.*

Liv. xlv.
6.

Plut. in
Æmil.

The Prætor not having been able to persuade Perseus to quit his asylum, was reduced to deprive him of all means of embarking and flying. However, notwithstanding all his precautions, Perseus secretly gained one Oroandes of Crete, who had a merchant-ship, and persuaded him to take him on board with all his riches: they amounted to two thousand talents, (that is, to about three hundred thousand pounds.) But, suspicious as he was, he did not dispossess himself of every thing, and sent only part of them, reserving the rest to be carried along with him. The Cretan, according to the knavish and deceitful character of his nation, embarked in the evening all the gold and silver sent to him, and let Perseus know, that he had only to come to the port at midnight with his children, and the people absolutely necessary to his service.

The time for the embarkation drawing nigh, Perseus, with infinite difficulty, crept through a very narrow window, crossed a garden, and went off through a ruined house with his wife and children. The rest of his treasure followed him. But what was his grief and despair, when he was informed, that Oroandes, with his rich freight, was already put to sea! It was necessary that he should return to his asylum with Philip his eldest son. He confided his other children to the care of Ion of Thessalonica, who had been his favourite, and who betrayed him in his adversity. For he gave them up to Octavius; which was the principal cause that induced Perseus to surrender him-

*He surren-
ders him-
self to Oc-
tavius,
who sends
him to the
Consul.*

Liv. xlv.
6. 7.
Plut.

self to those, who had his children in their hands. As soon as Octavius was master of the King's person, he made him embark, in order to send him to the Consul, to whom he had before given advice of it. Æmilius considering this event with reason as a second victory, immediately offered a

sacrifice

sacrifice to the gods; and having assembled the council, after having caused Octavius's letters to be read in it, he sent Q. Ælius Tubero, his son-in-law, to meet the King, ordering all the rest to continue with him in his tent, and to wait his coming there. Never did sight draw more people together. Syphax, many years before, had been brought prisoner to the Roman camp. But besides his not being comparable to Perseus either in his own person, or the dignity of his nation; he was then only an associate in the war of Carthage, as Gentius was in that of Macedonia: whereas Perseus was the principal in the present war, and was not only highly important in his own person, but by the remembrance of his father, grandfather, and the many other Kings whom he reckoned either amongst his ancestors or predecessors, amongst whom Philip and Alexander, who had subjected the universe to the Macedonians, made the greatest figure.

Perseus arrived in the camp, in black robes, ^{Paulus} attended only by his son. He could not move ^{Æmilius} forwards for the great crowd that pressed to see ^{receives} him, and stopped the way, till the Consul sent ^{him, and} his Lictors to clear it and open him a passage to ^{speaks to} his tent. Paulus Æmilius rose up, and ordering ^{him with} every body else to continue sitting; he advanced ^{favour.} some steps to meet him, and offered him his hand. ^{Liv. xlv.} That Prince was for throwing himself at the feet ^{7, 8.} of the victor, and for embracing his knees; but ^{Plut.} the Consul would not suffer it, and raising him up, made him sit down opposite to those who formed the assembly.

He began by asking him "what cause of discontent had induced him to undertake a war against the Roman People, that exposed himself and his kingdom to inevitable ruin." As, instead of the answer which every body expected,

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the King kept his eyes upon the ground, and shed tears without speaking. Paulus Æmilius continued as follows. *If you had ascended the throne in your early youth, I should be less surprized at your having been ignorant of what weight it was to have the Roman People for your friends or enemies. But having had part yourself in the war which your father made against us, and remembring the treaty of peace, with which it was followed, and of which we have on our side observed the conditions with the utmost strictness; how could you chuse rather to be at war than at peace with a people, whose valour in the one and fidelity in the other you had experienced? Perseus making no more answer to this reproach, than to the first question: In whatsoever manner, resumed the Consul, these things may have happened, either through error, to which every man is liable, through chance or the inevitable decrees of fate, take courage. The clemency with which the Roman People have acted in respect to many Kings and States, ought to inspire you, I do not say only with some hope, but an almost assured confidence, that they will treat you in a manner with which you will have reason to be pleased. The consequence will shew what we are to think of this soothing promise.*

*Discourse
of Paulus
Æmilius
to the
young Ro-
mans.
Ibid.*

He spoke this in Greek to Perseus; then turning towards the Romans, and resuming the Latin tongue: *You see, said he to them, a great example of the inconstancy of human things. It is principally to you, young warriors, that I direct this discourse. The uncertainty of what may happen to us from day to day ought to teach us not to behave with pride or violence to any one whatsoever in prosperity, and not to rely too much upon our present good fortune. The proof of true merit and true courage is, neither to be too elate in good, nor too much dejected in bad, fortune. Paulus Æmilius having dismissed the assembly, gave Tubero the care of*

the King's person. He made him sup with him that day, and give orders that he should be treated with all the honours his present state would admit. He afterwards distributed his troops into winter-quarters, the greatest part to Amphipolis, and the rest into the neighbouring cities.

Thus terminated the war between the Romans and Perseus, after having continued four years: and thus ended a kingdom, which had rendered itself so famous both in Europe and Asia. Perseus had reigned eleven years. He was reckoned the * thirty-ninth King from Caranus, who was the first that had reigned in Macedonia. So important a conquest cost Paulus Æmilius but fifteen days.

The kingdom of Macedonia had been very ob- secure till the time of Philip the son of Amyntas. Under that Prince, and by his great exploits, it made considerable acquisitions, however not beyond the bounds of Europe: it took in part of Thrace and Illyricum, and acquired a kind of dominion over Greece. The same kingdom afterwards extended into Asia; and during the thirteen years of Alexander's reign, it subjected all the provinces, that formed the vast empire of the Persians, and extended itself on one side as far as Arabia, and on the other to India, which were then considered as the extremities of the world. This empire, the greatest of the earth, being divided or rather torn into different kingdoms after Alexander's death by his successors, who each usurped their part of it, subsisted in Macedonia during something more than an hundred and fifty years, till it was entirely subverted by the arms of the Romans. And thus ended the so much boast-

* Livy, as we have him, the cypher. The chronicle of Eusebius says the thirty ninth. Undoubtedly must be a fault in

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ed exploits of that famous conqueror, the terror and admiration of the universe, or, more properly speaking, the example of the most vain and frantic ambition that ever was.

*News of
the victory
of Paulus
Æmilius
carried to
Rome.*

Paulus Æmilius, immediately after the battle, in which Perseus had been defeated, had sent Deputies to Rome to carry thither the news of his victory. Long before their arrival, and only the fourth day after the battle, whilst games were celebrating in the Circus, a rumour had spread, that a battle had been fought in Macedonia, and that Perseus had been defeated. This news occasioned an universal clapping of hands with cries of victory throughout the Circus. But, when the magistrates, upon strict enquiry, had found that this report had neither author nor foundation, this false and short-lived joy ceased, and left behind it only a tacit hope, that it was the presage of a victory either already gained, or which soon would be so.

The arrival of the Deputies some days after made Rome easy. They brought advice, that Perseus had been entirely defeated, that he was flying, and that he could not escape the victor. The people's joy then, which had been suspended hitherto, now broke out immoderately. The Deputies read a circumstantial account of the battle, first in the Senate, and afterwards in the Assembly of the People. Publick thanksgivings and sacrifices were decreed, and all the temples were immediately filled with persons of all ages and sexes, who went thither to thank the gods for the glorious victory, which they had vouchsafed to grant the Commonwealth. Some time after news was brought of Perseus's being taken; which raised the publick joy to the highest pitch. New thanksgivings and sacrifices were decreed.

Q. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.

M. JUNIUS PENNUS.

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Ant. C. 167.

Not to interrupt what relates to Macedonia, and Paulus Æmilius, I omit some facts to which I shall return.

After the election of the new Consuls at Rome, the command of the armies in Macedonia was continued to Paulus Æmilius, and in Illyricum to Lucius Anicius: ten commissioners were then appointed to regulate the affairs of Macedonia, and five for those of Illyricum: the whole to be transacted in concert with the Generals. Though the persons chosen for this commission were such, whose prudence might be safely relied upon, it was believed, that the importance of the affair required, that it should be maturely discussed in the Senate, in order that the plan might be laid down for the Generals, and that they might have no more to do than to put the last hand to it.

Commissioners appointed for Macedonia and Illyricum. Regulations made in respect to those two new conquests. Liv. xlv. 17, 18.

It was previously to all other things decreed, “ that the Macedonians and Illyrians should remain free, in order to make known to all nations, that the end of the Roman arms was not to enslave free people, but to deliver them from slavery; so that some might always retain their liberty under the protection of the Roman name; and others under the government of Kings, might be treated by them with greater moderation and equity out of consideration for the Romans: or that, if war should ever arise between such Kings and the Roman People, the nations might know, that the event of those wars would be victory to the Romans, and liberty to them.”

“ The

A. R. 585.
Ant. C. 167.

“ The Senate also abolished the duties upon the mines, and revenues of certain countries: because those taxes could only be levied by the ministration of tax-farmers, commonly called Publicans; and wherever those farmers were settled, one thing of two necessarily happened. If they were commanded to treat the people with lenity, those taxes were reduced almost to nothing: if they were permitted to use rigor and severities, that was either to licence or command the oppression and ruin of the people. The Macedonians themselves might have been impowered to levy them: but it was judged, that the handling of the publick money always enriching those who had it, it would be an occasion of envy and discord between them, and continual matter of sedition. Therefore the best method seemed absolutely and for ever to suppress them.

“ They decreed that there should be no general council of the whole nation in Macedonia, lest the insolent multitude should make the liberty the Senate gave them, degenerate into a pernicious licentiousness, which liberty could not be salutary, but whilst used with moderation. Macedonia should therefore be divided into four regions, of which each should have its particular council, and should pay half the taxes, usually paid the Kings, to the Romans.” And indeed, this partition of a State into four parts very much weakened its power, and seems a consequence, but on this occasion wise and equitable, of that great principle of government, *Divide and reign, Divide & impera.*

Anicius,
after having
quieted
Epirus,
returns in-
to Illyri-
cum.
Liv. xlv.
26.

Those appointed for Illyricum set out first, and repaired thither immediately. The Proprætor Anicius had entered Epirus with part of his army. That country, as we have related above, had embraced

braced the party of Perseus : and it was now to be subjected to the Romans. The city of Phanotum surrendered first to the Romans, and most of the rest did the same. That of Passaron at first refused to open its gates. Two of the principal citizens of that place, who in concert with Cephalus had made the whole nation take arms against the Romans, rightly perceiving, that they had no pardon to hope, in order to bury themselves in the ruins of their country, perswaded the inhabitants to make head against Anicius, exhorting them to prefer death to slavery. Nobody dared to open their mouth against two men, whose power was absolute. Theodotus, a young citizen of illustrious birth and rank, had the courage to speak in opposition to them, not fearing them so much as the Romans. *What phrenzy has seized you, said he to his countrymen, and induces you to involve so many innocent persons in the punishment of two criminals? I have often heard of private persons, who have died generously for their country; these two are the only men to this day, who have believed that their country ought to perish for them, and with them. Let us rather open our gates to the Romans, and submit to a power, to whom the whole universe is subjected.* The two authors of the revolt seeing that the multitude followed this young citizen, attacked the nearest post of the enemy, and presenting themselves to their swords, found the death they sought. The city immediately surrendered to the Romans. Cephalus in that of Tecmon acted almost in the same manner, and had the same fate with those I have just mentioned: after which the Romans met with no farther resistance. Anicius having reduced Epirus, and put his troops into winter-quarters in the most commodious places, returned into Illyricum.

A. R. 585.
Ant. C. 167.

A. R. 585.

Ant. C. 167.

*Promulga-**tion of the**new regu-**lations**concerning**Illyricum.*Liv. *ibid.*

He there found the commissioners of Rome at Scodra, the capital of the country, who communicated to him the Senate's orders. After Anicius had consulted them, he called an assembly of the Illyrians, and having ascended his tribunal, he declared, that the Senate and People of Rome granted the Illyrians liberty, and that the garrisons should evacuate all the cities and citadels of the country as soon as possible. As to some countries, which before and after the war had declared for the Romans, to their liberty was added an exemption from all taxes: the rest were discharged from half they before paid to King Gentius. Illyricum was divided into three regions or parts, each of which had its peculiar publick council and magistrates. After having established this form of government there, he returned to his winter-quarters at Passaron in Epirus.

*Paulus
Æmilius
visits the
cities of
Greece.*

Liv. xlv.

27, 28.

Plut. in

Æmil.

Before the commissioners for Macedonia arrived there, Paulus Æmilius, who was at leisure, resolved, during the autumn, to visit the most famous cities of Greece, and to see with his own eyes things of which all the world talked without knowing them. Having left the command of the camp to Sulpicius Gallus, he set out with a very small train, accompanied by his son young Scipio, and Athenæus brother of King Eumenes.

He crossed Thessalia to go to Delphi, the most famous oracle of the universe. The multitude and riches of the presents, statues, vases, tripods, with which the temple was filled, surprized him extremely. He there offered a sacrifice to Apollo. On seeing a great square pillar of white stone, on which a golden statue of Perseus was to be placed, he ordered his own to be set upon it, saying, *That the vanquished ought to give place to the victors.*

At Lebadea he saw the temple of Jupiter, sur-
 named Triphonius, and the entrance of the cave,
 into which those descended, who consulted that
 * oracle. He offered a sacrifice to Jupiter and to
 the goddess Hercynna. She was believed to be the
 daughter of Trophonius.

A. R. 531.
 Ant. C. 167.

At Chaleis, he had the curiosity to see the Eu-
 ripus, and all that is said of the ebbing and flow-
 ing of the sea, which are much more frequent here
 than any where else, and entirely irregular.

From thence he went to the city of Aulis,
 from which port in former times set out the famous
 fleet of Agamemnon. He visited the temple of
 Diana, upon whose altar that King of Kings sa-
 crificed his daughter Iphigenia, to obtain an hap-
 py voyage from that goddess.

After having passed through Oropus into Atti-
 ca, where the prophet Amphiloehus was honoured
 as a god, he repaired to Athens, a city famous
 for its antient grandeur, which presented to his
 view abundance of objects capable of exciting and
 gratifying his curiosity, the citadel, and ports, the
 walls which joined the port Piræus to the city, the
 arsenals, the monuments of great Captains; and
 lastly, the statues of gods and heroes, in which
 the workmanship far excelled the riches and va-
 riety of the materials. He did not forget to offer
 a sacrifice to Minerva, the tutelar goddess of the
 citadel.

Whilst Paulus Æmilius was in this city, he ask-
 ed the Athenians for an excellent philosopher to
 compleat the education of his children, and a
 skilful painter to design the ornaments of his tri-
 umph. They immediately cast their eyes upon
 Metrodorus, who excelled both in philosophy and

* This oracle is spoken of in the Antient History. Book X.

A. R. 585.
Ant. C. 167.

painting. We see here what attention the great men of antiquity had to the education of their children. The sons of that Roman General had taken the robe of manhood, as the youngest, afterwards known by the name of the second Scipio Africanus, was then seventeen years old. He notwithstanding thinks of placing a philosopher with them, capable of forming both their minds for the sciences, and their hearts for moral virtue, which of all studies is the most important, and however the most neglected. Paulus Æmilius, after having found in the person of Metrodorus the treasure he sought, quitted Athens well satisfied.

He arrived in two days at Corinth. The citadel and Isthmus afforded him a curious sight: The citadel of prodigious height, and abounding with waters supplied by an infinite number of springs; the Isthmus, which by a very narrow tract of land separated two adjacent seas, the one on the west, and the other on the east.

Sicyon and Argos, two very illustrious Cities, were the next on his way; then Epidarus, less opulent than the two others, but well known from the famous temple of Æsculapius, where there then was an infinite number of rich presents, offered by diseased persons in gratitude for cures they imagined they had received from that god.

Sparta was not distinguished by the magnificence of its buildings, but the wisdom of its laws, customs, and discipline.

Having passed through Megalopolis, he arrived at Olympia. He there saw abundance of things worthy of admiration: but when he cast his eyes upon the statue of Jupiter, (which was the master-piece of Phidias) he was as highly struck with it, says Livy, as if he had seen that god himself: *Jovem veluti præsentem intuens,*

motus

motus animo est, and he cried out, *this * Jupiter of Phidias is the very Jupiter of Homer.* Accordingly full of veneration, as if he had been in the Capitol, he offered a more solemn sacrifice here than any where else.

When he had thus made the tour of Greece, without inquiring what each place had thought in respect to Perseus, to avoid leaving the allies under any anxiety, he returned to Demetrias. He had met a body of Ætolians on his way, who came to inform him of an horrid violence committed upon the principal persons of their nation. He ordered them to meet him at Amphipolis. Being informed, that the ten commissioners had already passed the sea, he quitted all his other affairs; and went to meet them at Apollonia, only one day's journey from Amphipolis. He was very much surprized to meet Perseus there, whom his guards suffered to go from place to place with great liberty; for which he afterwards warmly reproached Sulpicius, to whose care he had confided the keeping of that important prisoner. He then put him into the hands of Postumius, as well as his son Philip, with orders to guard him better. As to his daughter and second son, he caused them to be brought from Samothracia to Amphipolis, where he ordered all the care to be taken of them, that suited their birth and condition.

When the day arrived, on which he had ordered ten of the principal citizens to attend him at Amphipolis, with all the publick registers wheresoever deposited, and all the King's money, he placed himself on his tribunal in the midst of the

** To have so well expressed, have so well conceived all the idea of Homer, is highly for majesty of the god, is much the praise of Phidias; but to more for Homer's.*

A. R. 585.
Ant. C. 167.

Paulus
Æmilius
returns in-
to Mace-
donia.

In concert
with the
ten commis-
sioners he
regulates
the affairs
of Macedo-
nia at Am-
phipolis.
Liv. xlv.
29, 30.
Plut.

A. R. 585. ten commissioners. And though the multitude
 Ann. C. 167. of the Macedonians around them, had been accustomed to the splendor of their Kings, the Lictor, who kept off the crowd, the Herald, who cited persons before the magistrate, and the Officers with their rods and axes, all objects new to their eyes and ears, and capable of intimidating not only conquered enemies, but even allies of the Commonwealth, struck them with surprize and terror. Paulus Æmilius having caused silence to be made, repeated in Latin what the Senate, and himself with the ten Commissioners had regulated in respect to Macedonia: and the Prætor Octavius who was present explained the whole to the assembly in the Greek tongue.

The principal articles were: " That the Macedonians should be free, should retain their cities, lands, and laws, and create new magistrates every year. That they should pay the Romans half the taxes they had paid their Kings: (Plutarch makes this moiety amount to an hundred talents, that is an hundred thousand crowns.) That Macedonia should from thenceforth be divided into four regions, or cantons, each of which should have its own council, wherein all affairs should be finally determined. The capital cities, where the assemblies of each canton were to be held, were for the first Amphipolis, for the second Thessalonica, for the third Pella, and for the fourth Pelagonia. It was in these four cities, the people of each government had orders to assemble by their deputies, carry in their taxes, and elect their magistrates. None were allowed to contract marriages, or buy lands or houses out of their own district. They were prohibited to work in the mines either of gold or silver; only those of brass and iron were abandoned to their industry ;

“ dustry; and those who employed themselves in
 “ them were taxed only half what they usually
 “ paid the King. They were also prohibited to
 “ use foreign salt, and either to cut themselves,
 “ or suffer others to cut, wood proper for build-
 “ ing ships. The districts, bordering upon bar-
 “ barous nations, (as all were except the third)
 “ were permitted to keep standing troops upon
 “ their frontiers.”

A. R. 585.
 Ant. C. 167.

These regulations, which were promulged in full assembly, made different impressions upon the hearers. The article of liberty and that of the diminution of taxes, gave the Macedonians, who little expected them, extreme pleasure. But they considered the partition of Macedonia into different regions, which were no longer to have any commerce with each other, as tearing a body in pieces by separating its members, which only live and subsist by their mutual aid and support of each other.

The Proconsul afterwards gave the Ætolians the audience he had promised them. I shall speak of it elsewhere. After an interval which was passed in other affairs, a second general assembly of the Macedonians was held, to set the new government on foot. At this time he caused the names of the principal persons of Macedonia, whom it had been resolved to remove to Italy, with such of their children, as were above fifteen years old, to be publicly read. This order, which at first seemed rigorous and cruel, was afterwards acknowledged to be necessary to the liberty of the people. (a) For none were named

Liv. xlv.
 31.

(a) Nominati sunt enim divites alii, alii quos fortunâ Regis amici purpuratique, duces exercituum, præfecti navium, aut præsidiorum; servire Regi humiliter, aliis superbè imperare assueti: præ-

divites alii, alii quos fortunâ non equarent, his sumptibus pares: Regius omnibus victus vestitusque: nulli civilis animus, neque legum neque libertatis æquæ patiens. Liv.

A. R. 585.
Ant. C. 167.

in this list except the great Lords, Generals of armies, Captains of ships, with all who had exercised offices, or been employed in embassies; in a word, all the officers, considerable or not, who had been accustomed to make their court servilely to the King, and to command others with pride and insolence. In this number were included the very rich and powerful persons of themselves; and others, who being much inferior to them in birth and fortune, affected to equal, and even exceed, them in luxury and expence: both living almost like Kings as to their tables and equipages. Such kind of men would not easily have been reduced to lead a quite different life, in which liberty makes all the citizens equal, and every body without distinction is alike subject to the laws. All these had orders to quit Macedonia, and go to Italy upon pain of death.

The regulations made by Paulus Æmilius for Macedonia, were so wise, and so judiciously concerted, that they seemed intended not for enemies conquered by force of arms, but for faithful allies, with whom there was entire reason to be satisfied; an use, which alone proves what may have been weak and defective in laws, during a long series of years, found nothing to correct in these instituted by this wise magistrate.

Young Scipio employs himself in the exercises of the chase.
Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 161.

Whilst Paulus Æmilius was employed in these important cares, Scipio his son, whom age did not yet permit to share in them, amused himself in the exercise of hunting, of which he was very fond. Macedonia supplied him abundantly with what was necessary to gratify his inclination; because hunting, which was the usual diversion of its Kings, having been suspended for some years on account of the war, game of all kinds abounded very much: Paulus Æmilius, intent upon procuring his son innocent pleasures, to divert him from

from such as reason forbade, gave him entire liberty to take that of hunting during the whole time that the Roman troops remained in the country after the victory he had gained over Perseus. The young Roman employed his leisure in this exercise so suitable to his age, and he had no less success in this innocent war, which he declared against the beasts of Macedonia, than his father had had in that he had made against the inhabitants of the country.

Paulus Æmilius himself made games and shews succeed his serious occupations, for which he had been long preparing, and to which he had taken care to invite all the most considerable persons in the cities of Asia and Greece. He made magnificent sacrifices to the gods, and gave superb feasts, finding in abundance wherewith to supply such great expences in the King's treasures, but only in himself the good order and fine taste that prevailed in them. For, having so many thousands of people to receive, he shewed so just a discernment and so exact a knowledge of what was due to them all, that every one was lodged, placed, and treated according to his rank and merit, and there was not one who had not reason to be satisfied with his politeness and humanity. The Greeks could not sufficiently admire that even in Games, a thing unknown before amongst the Romans, he should introduce so much exactness and discernment; and that a man, employed in the greatest affairs, should not neglect the least decorum in small ones.

He had caused all the spoils, which he did not think fit to carry to Rome, to be piled up together, bows, quivers, arrows, javelins, in a word arms of all kinds, and had ranged them in form of trophies. With a torch in his hand he set fire to them

A. R. 585.
Ant. C. 167.

Magnificent games given at Amphipolis by Paulus Æmilius.
Plut. in Æmil. 270.
Liv. xlv. 32.

A. R. 585.
Ann. C. 167.

them first himself, and the principal officers after him.

He next exposed to the view of the spectators, on an higher place prepared for that purpose, all that was richest and most magnificent in the booty he had taken in Macedonia, and which was to be carried to Rome: rich moveables, statues and paintings executed by the greatest masters, vases of gold, silver, brass, and ivory, which in magnificence surpassed all that had ever been seen of the kind even in the palace of Alexander.

But the greatest satisfaction Paulus Æmilius received from this magnificence, and which most soothed his self-love, was to see, in the midst of so many curious things, and sights capable of attracting the eye, that nothing appeared so wonderful and so worthy of attention and admiration, as himself. And when some expressed their surprise at the fine order that appeared at his table, he said (a) pleasantly, that the same genius which was necessary in drawing up an army, was also necessary in disposing a feast; the one for rendering an army formidable to an enemy, and the other for making an entertainment agreeable to the guests.

*Noble dis-
interested-
ness of P.
Æmilius.*

His disinterestedness and magnanimity were no less praised than his magnificence and politeness. For he did not so much as see all the gold and silver found in the King's treasury, and which amounted to very great sums, but he caused it to be put into the hands of the Quæstors, in order to be laid up. He only suffered his sons, who loved study, to keep the books of Perseus's library. The young Lords of those times, and those who were intended one day to command armies, did not ex-

(a) Vulgò dictum ipsius ferebant, & convivium instruere & ados parare, ejusdem esse qui vincere bello sciret. *Liv.*

press contempt for study, nor believe it either unworthy of their birth, or useless in the profession of arms. A. R. 587.
Ant. C. 167.

Paulus Æmilius in distributing the rewards of valour, gave only a silver cup of five pounds weight to his son-in-law Tubero. It was the same Tubero, who with sixteen persons of his family, lived on a small piece of land, which sufficed for their subsistence and support. This cup was the first piece of plate that entered the house of the Ælii; and it was still necessary, that virtue and honour should introduce it into that little poor family, worthy indeed of being called the palace and temple of poverty. If Paulus Æmilius, when master of the immense treasures of Perseus, had converted a part of them to enrich himself, could it be also said, that virtue and honour had introduced those riches into his house? He was far from so shameful and infamous a proceeding. I call it so after Cicero, who declares, (a) that avarice is the most shameful of all vices, especially in those who are charged with the government of a State; and that to make so noble an employment the means of gain, is not only the most infamous, but the vilest and most criminal of all things. He had said before, speaking of Perseus, that nothing had entered that General's house, except the immortal glory of his virtue. *Et hic nihil domum suam præter memoriam nominis sempiternam detulit.*

When Paulus Æmilius had made all the rich spoils of Perseus embark in order to be carried to Rome in the charge of Cn. Octavius, and had re- Epirus
plundered
by the Ro-
mans.
Liv. xlv.

(a) Nullum vitium tetrius quæstui rempublicam, non quam avaritia, præsertim in modo turpe est, sed sceleratum principibus rempublicam gubernantibus. Habere enim etiam & nefarium. *Offic. II.*

77.

I 4.

gulated

A. R. 585.
Ant. C. 167.

gulated all the affairs of Macedonia, he took his leave of the Greeks, and after having exhorted the Macedonians not to abuse the liberty which the Romans had granted them, and to preserve it by good government and unity, he set out for Epirus, with a decree of the Senate, which ordered him to let his soldiers plunder all the cities of that country, that had revolted against the Romans, and espoused the King's party. He had also sent Scipio Nasica and Fabius his son with part of his troops to ravage the country of the Illyrians, which had aided that Prince.

When the Roman General arrived in Epirus, he thought it necessary to act with caution in executing his commission, that his design might not be foreseen. He sent officers into all the cities, under pretext of withdrawing the garrisons, in order that the people of Epirus might enjoy liberty as well as the Macedonians. And this is called prudence! At the same time he signified to ten of the principal citizens of each city, that on a day fixed they should bring all the gold and silver, that were in the houses and temples, into the publick places, and he distributed his cohorts into all the cities, in order to seize those sums, and to guard them safely. On the day fixed, the gold and silver was brought early in the morning into the places, and delivered to the Roman officers, and at ten of the clock, the signal having been given, all the rest was plundered by the soldiers. An hundred and fifty thousand men were made slaves. After having plundered to the number of seventy cities, the walls of them were demolished. All the spoils were sold, and out of the sum, to which they amounted, each foot soldier had about five pounds, (two hundred *denarii*) and each of the horse ten. This violent execution shews, that the Romans knew the maxims of conquerors, cruel

cruel when they are to establish their sway, which is safe in being afterwards made supportable by the wisdom and lenity of their government.

A. R. 585.
Ant. C. 167.

After Paulus Æmilius, contrary to his disposition, which was mild and humane, had caused this decree to be executed, he marched towards the sea to the city of Oricum, made his whole army embark, and repassed into Italy. Some days after, Anicius having assembled the rest of the Epirots and Acarnanians, ordered the principal persons of them, whose sentence was reserved for the judgment of the Senate, to follow him into Italy.

Paulus Æmilius being arrived at the mouth of the Tiber, went up that river in the galley of King Perseus, which was of sixteen benches of oars, and in which were displayed, not only the arms taken, but the rich stuffs and the fine purple carpets found amongst the plunder. All the citizens went out to meet this galley, accompanied it in crowds along the shore, and seemed to anticipate the honours of a triumph, which the Proconsul had so well deserved.

P. Æmilius arrives at Rome, and after him Anicius and Octavius. Liv. *ibid.* 35.

Some days after arrived Anicius and Octavius with the fleet. The Senate decreed them all three triumphs, and ordered C. Cassius to engage the Tribunes of the People in the name of the Senate to propose the law, or usual decree in the like cases, to impower those Generals to retain the title of command for the day they should enter the city in triumph. (a) Envy commonly neglects inferior merit, and aims its venom at that which is greatest and most distinguished. Anicius and Octavius found no obstacle to their triumphs: Paulus Æmilius, to whom they would have been ashamed to compare themselves, was the only one

The Senate decrees them triumphs.

The soldiers of P. Æmilius at Galba's instigation combine to prevent his triumph.

Liv. xlv. 35, 36.

(a) Intacta invidiâ media sunt: ad summa ferre tendit.

opposed.

A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167. opposed. That General had made his soldiers observe the severe discipline of the antient Romans. The part of the plunder which he had promised them was infinitely short of their expectations; and if he had fully satisfied their avidity, he must have abandoned all the King's treasures to them. The army of Macedonia in consequence was disposed to express little zeal for their General in the assembly which was upon the point of being held for passing the law. But Servius Galba, as a Tribune of the second legion, and who was personally the enemy of Paulus Æmilius, had prejudiced his legion against him, and by their means engaged the whole army to be present in the assembly, and to be revenged of a cruel and avaricious General, in rejecting the law proposed for his triumph. He called the strictness, with which Paulus Æmilius had caused the discipline to be observed, cruelty, and his care in preserving the riches of the conquered country for the publick treasury, avarice. Such discourses however made a great impression upon the soldiers; and their discontent, which arose from their insatiable avidity, injured the excellent qualities of their General, to whom however they were all forced to do justice within themselves, by acknowledging the superiority of his merit in every respect.

On the day of the assembly, as a triumph was upon the point of being decreed him unanimously, Galba seeing that nobody offered to oppose a law, which did not seem to admit any difficulty, came forwards, and said that particulars having a right to speak for or against Laws proposed, he demanded, that the affair might be deferred till next day, because it was already past two in the afternoon, and the four remaining hours did not suffice for deducing all the reasons he had to alledge against the triumph of Paulus Æmilius. The
Tribunes

Tribunes having ordered him to speak immediately, if he had any thing to say, he began a long discourse full of injurious expressions and reproaches; the end of which was to animate and incense the soldiers, by exaggerating the cruelty of the Generals in respect to them, and giving them to understand, that if all of them in concert rejected the law, they would teach the great persons of Rome by that firmness of behaviour to treat the troops with less rigour than they did. In this manner he took up the rest of the day.

A. R. 585.
Ant. C. 167.

The next day, the soldiers came in so great a number to the assembly, it was almost impossible for the other citizens to enter it to give their suffrages. The first Tribes absolutely rejected the proposal of the triumph. The Senators upon that, highly enraged, that Paulus Æmilius should be denied an honour, which he had so well deserved, and alarmed besides by a conspiracy, which was upon the point of subjecting the Generals to the soldiers, and of rendering them the victims of their licentiousness and avarice, made a great noise in the assembly. After the tumult had been appeased, M. Servilius who had been Consul, and had killed three and twenty enemies, who had challenged him, in single combat, desired the Tribunes to begin the deliberation again, and to permit him to speak to the People. This being granted, he explained himself to the following effect.

Romans, it seems to me, that we may now more than ever know the great ability of Paulus Æmilius in the art of war, since having an army to command so inclined to licentiousness and revolt, he has known how to keep it within the bounds of duty, and to perform with it such great and glorious actions. But what I cannot conceive, is, that after having expressed so lively and universal a joy, and even paid

*Speech of
Servilius
in favour
of P. Æ-
milius.
Liv. xlv.
37—39.
Plut. in
Æmyl.*

thanks-

A. R. 585.
Ant. C. 167.

thanksgivings to the gods on only the news of the victory gained in Macedonia, now that this victory is in a manner set before your eyes, by the presence of the General, to whom you are indebted for it, you appear indifferent, and inclined to refuse the same gods the honours and acknowledgment you owe them, for so distinguished a protection.

Could one have believed, that there was a single person at Rome, that could dislike triumphing over the Macedonians, and that the persons should be the very soldiers of Paulus Æmilius, who sought to obscure the glory of their victory. But what complaints then do they make of their General? He has obliged us, say they, to guard our posts with extreme severity. He has made our sentinels and rounds do their duty with more rigour than any of those who commanded before him. He has exacted from us more assiduity in fatigues, than had been required before, being every where in person, and affording us no relaxation. And lastly, having it in his power to enrich us by the spoils he took, he has chose rather to keep the King's treasures to adorn his triumph, and to cause them afterwards to be carried into the publick treasury. You would be ashamed, soldiers, to express yourselves in these terms. These however are the only reproaches you can make your General, and the only reasons you have to oppose the honour Rome is for granting him.

But do not deceive yourselves, soldiers. It is not Paulus Æmilius that your refusal will hurt. A triumph can add nothing to his glory, universally acknowledged as it is, and confirmed by so many noble exploits. It is the Roman People themselves, it is the whole Commonwealth, you injure. You must not imagine, that a triumph is a particular, a private ceremony. It is an honour common to the whole nation. Have the many triumphs over the Gauls, Spaniards, Carthaginians, rendered only the Generals illustrious,

lustrious, who conquered those nations? Has not the greatest part of their glory been reflected upon the Roman name.

A. R. 58.
Ant. C. 167.

Can there be a more delightful spectacle, than to see a considerable number of Generals of armies, great Lords, and Perseus himself with his children; Perseus, the most illustrious and most opulent King of Europe, all laden with chains, walk before the chariot, and almost under the feet of the triumpher? And this is the delightful scene, the shining glory, of which a malignant envy labours to deprive all Rome.

Instead of these honours, you are preparing shame and infamy for the Roman People, which will forever sully their renown, in causing them to be considered as enemies to true merit. And at the same time you do an irreparable injury to the Commonwealth. For what Roman will endeavour to imitate Scipio, or Paulus Æmilius in a city, which repays the most important services of its Generals only with ingratitude?

But I am in the wrong, soldiers, to impute to all of you sentiments so remote from your character, and the conduct you have hitherto observed. So black and criminal a conspiracy can only be the effect of the hatred and phrenzy of some particulars, the personal enemies of Paulus Æmilius. The suffrages you are this instant going to give, and which I assure myself cannot but be in his favour, will fully justify you.

This discourse made such an impression upon the soldiery, that upon the Tribes being called upon again to vote, they unanimously decreed Paulus Æmilius a Triumph. The merit of this General having thus prevailed over the malice and jealousy of his enemies, he triumphed over Perseus and the Macedonians during three days successively.

Triumph granted P.
Æmilius
with
unanimous
consent
Liv. xlv.
39.

A. R. 585.
 Ann. C. 167.
Triumph
of P. Æ-
milius.
 Plut.
 Liv. xlv.
 40.

The triumph of which we are speaking far exceeded all which had hitherto been seen at Rome, either for the greatness of the conquered King, the number and excellence of the statues and paintings exposed to view in this shew, or the immense sums carried into the publick treasury. A circumstantial description of this pomp may be seen in the little tract upon Triumphs inserted in the preceding volume. These sums were so considerable, that the citizens paid no more taxes till the time of Hirtius and Panfa, who were Consuls the year after Cæsar's death.

It is easy to conceive how much the sight of so powerful a King as Perseus, reduced to so humbled a state, accompanied by the Queen his wife, and followed by his children bathed in tears, must have excited the compassion of the spectators. That Prince had desired Paulus Æmilius not to exhibit him for a show to the Roman People, and to spare him the indignity of being led in triumph. Paulus Æmilius answered coldly: *The favour he asks of me is in his own power; he can grant it to himself.* What he intended by these words wants no interpretation.

When the pomp arrived at the foot of the Capitol, the prisoners were carried, according to custom, to the publick prisons.

Paulus Æmilius gave an hundred *denarii* to each foot soldier (about fifty shillings) twice as much to the Centurions, and thrice to the horse.

P. Æmi-
lius loses
two of his
children.
 Liv. xlv.
 40.
 Plut. in
 Æmil.

For the rest Perseus, laden with chains and led thro' the city before the chariot of the victor, was not the only one, who in those days afforded a great example of the inconstancy of human things. Paulus Æmilius, in the midst of his triumph, all glittering with gold and purple, gave also a proof of it, no less sad and affecting. Of the four sons which he had, the two by his first wife, Fabius
 *and

and Scipio, had been adopted into two other families. Of the two others, whom he had by his second wife, and kept in his house to be the heirs of his name, - fortunes, and glory; the youngest died at twelve years of age, five days before his triumph, and the other, who was fourteen, was taken off three days afterwards. Every body was sensibly touched with the affliction of that unfortunate father, whose successes and joy were mixed with so affecting a loss and so cruel a subject of grief.

After some days, he repaired to the assembly of the People, to give an account of his services, according to the usual custom, and made a speech worthy of a true Roman. *Though my triumph and the funerals of my children, which have served alternately as sights for you, cannot have suffered you to be ignorant either of the good success of my Consulship, or the sad fate of a family twice struck from heaven in so short a space; permit me, however, Romans, to relate to you in few words, the happiness of the Commonwealth, and the misfortune of my house. Having set out from Brundisium, at sun-rise, I arrived three hours after at Corcyra with my whole fleet. Five days after I offered a sacrifice to Apollo at Delphi for myself and my armies by land and sea. From Delphi I arrived in five days more at the camp, took upon myself the command of the army, and after having reformed some abuses which were a great obstacle to success, I advanced within sight of the enemy. But finding that it was neither possible to force the King in his intrenchments, nor to bring him to a battle, I seized the fort and defiles of Pythium notwithstanding the troops which guarded them, marched down by that means into the plain, forced Perseus to a battle, gained it, reduced his whole kingdom into subjection to the Roman People; and lastly, terminated a war in fifteen days, which had subsisted three*

His Speech to the people.
Liv. xlv. 41.
Plut.

years,

A. R. 585.
Ant. C. 167.

years, and which the preceding Consuls had conducted in such a manner, that the last always transmitted it to his successor more difficult and dangerous than it was when he came to the command. The succeeding events have been no less fortunate. All the cities that had been subject to Perseus surrendered. I seized all the treasures of that Prince. I afterwards made him prisoner in the temple of Samothracia, where the gods seem to have put him into my hands with his children. It was at this time, judging myself, that fortune was too favourable to me, I began to apprehend her inconstancy. I was afraid, that she would lay some snare for me at sea, when I should have embarked to carry the rich spoils of Macedonia with my victorious army to Italy: for it is at sea that fortune seems to exercise her sway with most power. But our voyage was entirely good: the treasures and my troops arrived at a good port in Italy. There seemed nothing farther for me to ask of the gods. However, being persuaded, that it is often after her most signal favours, that fortune takes pleasure in evidencing her malignity, I implored of the gods, that they would let fall the ills, which such great prosperity seemed to denounce, rather upon me than upon the Commonwealth. (a) At present therefore the funerals of my children, as if to deride human prosperity, having happened before and after my triumph, I have room to hope that so distinguished a disaster in my family has acquitted the Commonwealth in the sight of the gods, and leaves it nothing farther to fear on their part. Perseus and myself have been equally spectacles to mankind, to instruct all mortals, how little they ought to rely upon their present felicity. There is however a great difference between us. Re-

(a) Itaque defunctam esse fortunam publicam mea tam insigni calamitate spero; quod meorum est interpositus. Liv. triumphus meus, velut ad lu-

duced as well as his children into captivity, he has A. R. 585
Ant. C. 167 seen them dragged before him in triumph: but afterwards he has the consolation to see them alive and well. And for me, who have triumphed over Perseus, a still more unfortunate father than him, I went from the funeral of one of my sons in my chariot to ascend to the Capitol, and descended from thence almost only to see the other expire before my eyes. Thus, of four sons with whom I was surrounded, not one remains that bears my name, the two first having passed by adoption into other families. But your good fortune and the publick felicity, console me for my losses, and the solitude to which my house is now reduced. This discourse full of force and constancy touched the hearers more, than if he had endeavoured to move their compassion by deploring his misfortune in a plaintive and mournful tone.

However sensible P. Æmilius might be to the Perseus is kept under a guard at Alba with his son misfortunes of Perseus, he could do nothing more for him, than to cause him to be removed from the publick prison into a more commodious place. He was carried by order of the Senate to Alba, Alexander. Liv. ibid. where he was guarded and supplied with money, moveables, and persons to serve him. Most authors say, that he destroyed himself by abstaining from food. He had reigned eleven years. Macedonia was not reduced into a province till some years after. 42.
Plut.

Of the three children of Perseus, two, his daughter and eldest son, who was called Philip, and who was his only son by adoption, and his brother by birth, did not live long: His youngest son, called Alexander, by a fate still more unhappy than captivity and death itself, was reduced to work with his own hands for the means of life: and afterwards, as he had learnt the Latin tongue, he became a register under the magistrates of the

A. R. 585.
Ant. C. 167.

city of Alba. What a fall was this for the son of the greatest King upon earth, and what example can be more capable of humbling human pride!

*Triumphs
of Octavi-
us and A-
nicius.*

*Plut. ibid.
42, 43.*

Triumphs were also granted to Cn. Octavius and L. Anicius: to the first, for the successes at sea; and to the other, for the conquest of Illyricum. In this last triumph, King Gentius was led before the victor's chariot with his wife, children, brother, and many of the principal persons of his nation.

*The son of
Cotys is
sent home
to him.*

Cotys, King of Thrace, sent to demand his son, who had been imprisoned after having been led in triumph. He excused himself for his attachment to the interests of Perseus, and offered a considerable ransom for the young Prince. The Senate, without accepting his excuses, replied, that having more regard to his former services than his recent fault, they returned him his son, without accepting a ransom. That the Roman People did not sell their favours, and chose rather to leave the value of them in the hearts, and to the gratitude of those they obliged, than to require a price that would dishonour them.

 BOOK THE TWENTY SIXTH.

 T H E
 R O M A N H I S T O R Y .

THIS book contains more than the space of one and twenty years. It includes principally a series of affairs which arose from the war of the Romans with Perseus, the beginnings of the second Scipio Africanus, the third Punic war, and the destruction of Corinth.

S E C T. I.

Ambassadors sent by the Senate into Egypt. They go out of their way to Rhodes. In consequence of their discourse, all who had declared for Perseus against the Romans are put to death. Haughtiness of Popilius: Answer of King Antiochus. Return of the Ambassadors to Rome. Embassies of the Kings of Syria and Egypt to Rome. Masgaba, son of Masinissa, comes Ambassador to Rome. He is received there very honourably. Honours paid to his brother Misagenes. The Freedmen are all reduced into a single Tribe. Embassy of Atalus to Rome. He bearkens to the wise remonstrances of Stratius his physician. The Rhodians are ill received at Rome. Harangue of their Ambassadors. Cato declares in favour of the Rhodians.

dians. The Senate's answer. The alliance of Rome is at length granted to the Rhodians. Lamentable complaints of the Ætolians to Paulus Æmilius. They do not obtain justice. The credit and insolence of the partisans of Rome increase extremely. Unjust and cruel policy of the Romans. The Achæians, suspected of having favoured Perseus, are sent to Rome, banished, and dispersed into different cities. The Achæians send several deputations to Rome in favour of the exiles, but always ineffectually. The exiles are at last sent home to their own country. Great friendship between Scipio the younger and Polybius. Meanness of soul of Prusias. End of Livy's history.

A. R. 584.
Ant. C. 168.
Ambassadors sent by
the Senate.
into Egypt.
Liv. xlv.
19.
Polyb.
Legat 50.

IN the preceding book we have seen, that Pto-
lomy Evergetes and Cleopatra his sister, being
vigorously attacked by Antiochus the illustrious
King of Syria, had sent Ambassadors to the Ro-
mans to implore their aid. The Senate moved
with the extreme danger in which Egypt was,
and besides convinced, that it was not for the in-
terest of Rome to suffer Antiochus to aggrandize
himself so much, resolved to send an embassy to
put an end to the war. C. Popilius Lænas, C.
Decimius, and C. Hostilius, were charged with
this important affair. They were instructed to go
first to Antiochus, and afterwards to Ptolomy;
to declare to them from the Senate, that they must
suspend all hostilities, and put an end to the war:
and that, if either of the two refused, the Ro-
man People would no longer consider him as
their ally. Knowing that the danger was ur-
gent, three days after the resolution taken in the
Senate, they set out from Rome with the Amba-
sadors of Egypt.

After

After having stopt some time in the island of Delos, they resumed their route. When they arrived at the port of Loryma in Caria, opposite to Rhodes, the principal persons of the Rhodians came to them, and earnestly desired them to come to Rhodes; representing to them, that it was important for the safety and honour of their Republick, that they should know from themselves what had been done hitherto, and what still actually passed at Rhodes, in order that they might inform the Senate of it, and undeceive them in respect to the false reports, which might have been spread against the Rhodians at Rome. The Ambassadors long refused to stop: but the Rhodians pressed them so strongly, that they at length consented to their request.

They went therefore to Rhodes, where it was necessary to make new instances to them, in order to induce them to come into the assembly. But the manner in which they spoke there, increased the alarm of a people already trembling instead of abating it. Popilius reproached them with all, that their Republick, or even every particular amongst them, had either done or said against the interests of the Romans, since the war had been declared against the King of Macedonia; the whole with a countenance glowing with rage, and the tone of an accuser, which was natural to him, and made them besides perceive the wrong they had been guilty of, and the discontent of the Romans. For they judged from the indignation of a single Senator, who had no personal cause of anger against them, of the disposition of the whole order in respect to them. C. Decimius, the second of the Ambassadors, spoke to them with more moderation. For, in resuming the discourse of Popilius, he said, "that most of the faults, with which they were reproached, ought to be

A. R. 584.
Ant. C. 163.
These Ambassadors first to Rhodes.
Liv. xlv.

In consequence of their discourse, all who had declared for Perseus against the Romans are condemned to die.
Ibid.

A. R. 584. " attributed, not to the People of Rhodes in ge-
 Ant. C. 168. " neral, but to some incendiaries who had ani-
 " mated them against the Romans. That those
 " sycophants, whose tongues were venal, had
 " dictated decrees full of extravagant praises of
 " the King of Macedonia, and charged their
 " Ambassadors with senseless orders, which could
 " not but occasion the Rhodians as much repen-
 " tance as confusion, and of which the punish-
 " ment would undoubtedly fall upon the guilty." He was heard with great applause, and in conse-
 quence of what he had opened, a decree was pas-
 sed immediately, by which all, who should be con-
 victed of having said or done any thing in favour
 of Perseus, should suffer death. But most of those
 who were within this case, had either quitted the
 city, when the Romans entered it, or had volunta-
 rily killed themselves. The Ambassadors stayed
 only five days at Rhodes, and immediately depar-
 ted for Alexandria.

*Haughti-
 ness of Po-
 pilius.*
 Liv. xlv.
 12.

They arrived there, when Antiochus was pre-
 paring to besiege it. They went to meet him at
 Eleusis, a town situated a small quarter of a league
 from the city. The King seeing Popilius, whom
 he had known particularly at Rome, whilst he
 was an hostage, offered him his hand as an old
 friend. The Roman, who considered himself no
 longer as a private person, but in a publick cha-
 racter, desired to know, before he received his
 civility, whether he was speaking to a friend or an
 enemy of Rome. He presented him the decree
 of the Senate, and bade him read it. Antiochus,
 after having done so, said, that he would delibe-
 rate upon it with his council, and give him his
 answer. Popilius, enraged that the King should
 talk of delays, drew a circle upon the sand round
 that Prince with a little staff, which he had in his
 hand; and assuming the haughty air, and severe
 tone

tone that were natural to him; *Before you quit this circle*, said he to him, *give me the answer I am to carry back from you to the Senate.* The King, dashed at so haughty a proceeding, after a moment's reflexion, replied humbly: *I will do what the Senate demands.* Popilius then offered him his hand as the friend and ally of the Commonwealth. What haughtiness of soul (a) what insolence of language was this! This Roman, with a few words, terrifies the King of Syria and saves the King of Egypt.

A. R. 584.
Ant. C. 163.

What gave the one so much boldness, and the other so much docility, was the news which had been just before received of the great victory gained by the Romans over Perseus King of Macedonia. From thenceforth every thing gave way before them, and the Roman name became terrible to all Princes and nations.

Antiochus having quitted Egypt on the day fixed, Popilius with his Collegues entered Alexandria, where he concluded the treaty of accommodation between the * two brothers, which hitherto had only been in embrio. From thence he went to the island of Cyprus, which Antiochus had almost conquered already, caused it to be restored to the Kings of Egypt, to whom it belonged of right, and returned to Rome to give an account of the success of his embassy.

Return of the Ambassadors to Rome.

Almost at the same time Ambassadors from Antiochus and the two Ptolomies and Cleopatra their sister, arrived there. The first said, "That the peace which the Senate had thought fit to esta-

Ambassy from the Kings of Syria and Egypt to Rome.

(a) Quam efficax est animi sermoneque abscessa gravitas! Eodem momento Syriæ regnum teruit, Ægypti textit. Val. Max.

lometer, and Euergetes. These facts, that are treated here only incidentally, are related more at large in the Antient History, Vol. VIII.

Liv. xlv. 18.

* The two Ptolomies, Phi-

K 4

" blish

A. R. 584.
Ant. C. 163.

“bliss between their master and the Kings of Egypt, seemed preferable to him to all the victories he could have gained, and that he had obeyed the orders of the Roman Ambassadors as those of the gods themselves.” Flattery equally mean and impious ! They afterwards congratulated the Roman People upon the victory they had lately gained over Perseus.

The Egyptian Ambassadors, no less excessive than those of Syria, declared ; “ That the two brothers Ptolomy, and Cleopatra, believed themselves more indebted to the Senate and People of Rome than to their own parents and the gods themselves, having been delivered by the protection of the Romans from the calamities of a siege, and reinstated upon the throne of their ancestors, from which they were almost entirely expelled.”

The Senate replied : “ That Antiochus had done wisely in obeying the Ambassadors ; and that the Senate and People of Rome were well pleased with him upon that account.” Might not one say, that here seems to arise a dispute between adulation and meanness on one side, and haughtiness and arrogance on the other ? As to the Ptolemies, and Cleopatra, they were answered : “ That the Senate was very glad of having rendered their situation more happy, and that it would endeavour to make them sensible, that they ought to consider the amity and protection of the Roman People as the firmest support of their kingdom.” The Prætor had orders to make the Ambassadors the usual presents.

This Antiochus, whom we here see so mean and abject, was however surnamed *Epiphanes*, that is, *Illustrious and Glorious*. At his return from Egypt, besides seeing a crown wrested from him by the Romans, of which he had assured himself

self, and of which he was almost in possession, he made the whole weight of his wrath fall upon the Jews, against whom he exercised the greatest cruelties. The God of Israel, whose worship he had endeavoured to abolish at Jerusalem, let falls his hand upon that impious King, and caused him to die in the midst of the most acute torments. All the events of this Prince's reign, and his miserable death, had been foretold by the prophet Daniel.

Embassies came to Rome from several parts in effect of the defeat of Perseus. Masgaba, the son of Masinissa, having landed at Puteoli, found there the Quæstor L. Manlius, whom the Senate, having had advice of his arrival, had sent to meet him, in order to conduct him to Rome at the expence of the Commonwealth. He was received there in a very honourable manner, and had audience immediately. The things which he had to say to the Senate, though very agreeable of themselves, seemed still more so from the respectful and submissive expressions with which he accompanied them. "After having said something of the cavalry and infantry, elephants and corn, with which his father had supplied the armies of the Roman People, he added, that two things had given him pain, and occasioned confusion. The first was, that the Senate had desired, instead of ordering him, to furnish the Roman People with those aids: and the second, that they had sent money to pay for the corn. That Masinissa had not forgot that he was indebted to the Roman People for his kingdom, and for all the augmentations it had received: that accordingly, considering himself as only the tenant of his dominions, he reckoned the property of them to belong to those, who had given them to him. That they therefore ought to use commands and not requests with him, and to dis-

"pose,

A. R. 584.
Ant. C. 168.

Ant. Hist.
Vol. viii.

*Masgaba,
son of Ma-
sinissa,
comes as
Ambassa-
dor to
Rome.
He is very
honourably
received.
Liv. xlv.
13, 14.*

A. R. 584.
Ant. C. 168.

“ pose, as of their own, of the fruits, which the
“ lands produced, that he held from their libera-
“ lity. That Masinissa should always be con-
“ tended with such part as the Romans should
“ leave him, after having taken what they should
“ have occasion for. That these were the orders
“ his father had given him at his departure. But
“ that having afterwards received advice of the
“ defeat of Perseus, he had dispatched horse after
“ him with instructions to congratulate the Senate
“ upon it, and to protest, that this news had
“ given him so much joy, that he was earnestly
“ desirous to come to Rome to offer a sacrifice to
“ Jupiter in his temple of the Capitol, in grati-
“ tude for so great a blessing, and that he desired
“ the Senate’s permission to take that journey.”

The Senate answered the young Prince, “ That
“ the King carried his gratitude too far, when he
“ declared so high a sense of a benefit which was
“ no more than the just reward of his services.
“ That in the war with Carthage, he had aided
“ the Commonwealth with equal fidelity and va-
“ lour; and that the Romans were highly pleased
“ with having seconded his bravery in the con-
“ quests of the dominions, of which he was in
“ possession. That he had afterwards aided the
“ Romans with the same zeal and attachment in
“ the wars they had sustained against three Kings
“ successively, without ever departing from him-
“ self. That it was no wonder, that he took
“ part in the victory of the Romans, who had
“ united his fate with theirs, and had resolved to
“ share good and bad fortune with them. That
“ he ought to be contented with thanking the
“ gods for the victory of his allies in his own
“ palace; that his son might do it in his name at
“ Rome; and that besides its being useless for
“ him to take so long a journey, the interest it-
“ self

“ self of the Roman People required, that he
 “ should not quit his kingdom, nor remove so
 “ far from Africa.”

A. R. 584.
 Ant. C. 168.

Some time after his departure, the Senate received advice, that Misagenes, another son of Masinissa, having been dismissed by Paulus Æmilius, in transporting his cavalry to Africa, had met with a storm in the Adriatick, which had dispersed his fleet, and driven himself with three of his ships to Brundisium, where he remained sick. The Quæstor L. Stertinius was sent to him, and was ordered to hire him an house in that city, to supply him abundantly with every thing he should have occasion for, and to provide him ships to carry him safely to Africa, as soon as he recovered his health.

Honours
 paid to his
 brother
 Misagenes.

The same year, the Censors Ti. Sempronius Gracchus and C. Claudius Pulcher settled an affair in concert, upon which they had long differed. It related to the freedmen, who after having been twice particularly included in the four Tribes called *the Tribes of the city*, had a third time spread into the other Tribes. These city Tribes, *Urbanæ*, were the least honourable, containing only the tradesmen and artificers of Rome: whereas those of the country, *Rusticæ*, were composed of the more considerable citizens, who possessed estates in the country, where many were settled, and others often withdrew. After long contests, the Censors reduced all the freedmen into one of the four Tribes of the city called *Esquilina*, decreeing, that for the future, they should give their suffrages in the Tribe only. This regulation did the Censors great honour in the Senate. Cicero ascribes it to Gracchus only, who actually had the greatest share in it: and he gives us a great idea of the wisdom and importance of this decree.

The freed-
 men are
 included in
 a single
 Tribe.

A. R. 584. decree. "We (a) find it very difficult, he makes
 Ant.C. 168. "Scævola say, to keep our government in a toler-
 "ble state. But if Gracchus had not confined the
 "freedmen within the Tribes only of the city, the
 "Commonwealth would long since have been en-
 "tirely ruined."

A. R. 585.
 Ant.C. 167.

Q. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
 M. JUNIUS PENNUS.

*Attalus
 comes Am-
 bassador
 to Rome.
 Polyb.
 Legat. 93.
 Liv. xlv.
 19, 20.*

Amongst the different embassies of Kings and States which came to Rome after the victory gained over Perseus, Attalus attracted the regard and attention of the Romans more than all the rest. He came in the name of his brother Eumenes, to congratulate them upon their new victory, and also to implore their aid against the Gauls of Asia, who had committed great ravages in the dominions of the King of Pergamus. He was received at Rome with all the marks of distinction and amity, that a Prince could expect, who had given proofs, in the war of Macedonia, of his constant attachment and fidelity exempt from all suspicion,

*He heark-
 ens to the
 wise re-
 monstran-
 ces of the
 physician
 Stratius.
 Ibid.*

The extraordinary honours paid to Attalus, the true reasons of which he did not penetrate, soothed him extremely; and in consequence he gave ear to proposals, which in other circumstances would have immediately struck him with horror.

Most of the Romans had no longer any esteem or affection for Eumenes. His secret negotiations with Perseus, of which they had been apprized, made them believe that Prince had never been sin-

(a) Atque is (Ti. Gracchus) libertinos in urbanas tribus transtulit: quod nisi fecisset, rempublicam, quam
 nunc vix tenemus, jamdiu nullam haberemus. *Lib. I. de Orat. n. 38.*

cerely

cerely in their interest, and that he had only abstained from declaring against them for want of occasion. Full of this prejudice, some of the most distinguished Romans, in their private conversations with Attalus, intimated to him, "that Rome formed very different judgments of himself and his brother. That as to him, he was considered as the true friend of the Romans; and Eumenes, on the contrary, as an ally, who had neither been faithful to them, nor to Perseus. That he was sure of obtaining what he should demand for himself, and what he should ask against his brother, the whole Senate being disposed to grant him at least one half of his brother's kingdom. That accordingly, when he should appear before the Senate, he ought to confine himself solely to that demand, and to speak only of his own interests, without mentioning the affair for which his brother had sent him." What a proposal was this made to a brother against his brother and King! These strokes of self-interested policy, which began then to take place amongst the Romans, may serve as a key to explain their conduct on other occasions, wherein they more industriously conceal it.

The temptation was great to a Prince, who doubtless did not want ambition, and to whom the occasion of satisfying it, presented itself without being sought. He therefore hearkened to these bad counsels, and the more, as they were given him by some of the principal persons of Rome, of great reputation for wisdom and probity. He promised them, that he would demand in the Senate, that part of his brother's kingdom should be given him.

Attalus

A. R. 585.
Ant. C. 167.

Attalus had a physician with him, called Stratius, whom Eumenes had caused to attend him to Rome, to assist him in his conduct, and to keep him by wise counsels within the bounds of his duty, in case he should incline to depart from it. Stratius, had with penetration, manners highly insinuating and persuasive. Having either apprehended, or known from Attalus himself, the design, with which he had been inspired, he took the advantage of some favourable moments, for making judicious remonstrances to him: "That
 " the kingdom of Pergamus, weak of itself and
 " but lately established, had only subsisted and
 " been augmented by the union and good intelligence of the brothers in possession of it. That
 " only one of them indeed bore the name of
 " King, and wore the diadem, but that they all
 " reigned in reality. That Eumenes having no
 " male issue (for the son he had, and who reigned
 " afterwards, was not then known) must leave
 " his throne to the brother immediately next to
 " himself. That consequently the right of Attalus
 " to succeed in the kingdom was incontestable;
 " and that considering the age and infirmities of
 " his brother, the time for succeeding him could
 " not be very remote. Wherefore then should he
 " anticipate and hasten by an unjust and criminal
 " enterprize, what would soon happen by a
 " natural and legitimate means? Did he intend to
 " divide the kingdom with his brother, or deprive
 " him of it entirely? That if he only had a part
 " of it, both weakened by such partition, and
 " exposed to the insults of their neighbours, might
 " soon be alike deprived of the whole. That if
 " he aspired at reigning alone, what would become his elder brother? Would he reduce
 " him to live as a private person, or would he
 " banish him at his years and with his infirmities,
 " or

"or put him to death? that he did not doubt,
 "but such thoughts would give him horror. That
 "not to mention the tragical ends of fraternal
 "discord related in books, the quite recent ex-
 "ample of Perseus ought to strike him. That
 "that unfortunate Prince, who had shed his bro-
 "ther's blood to secure the crown to himself,
 "pursued by the divine vengeance, had lately
 "laid down the same crown at the feet of a
 "victor in the temple of Samothracia, in a manner
 "before the eyes and by the order of the gods,
 "who preside there, the witnesses and avengers
 "of his guilt. That the very persons who
 "flattered the ambition of Attalus, more out of
 "hatred for Eumenes than amity for him, would
 "praise his moderation and greatness of soul, if
 "he persisted in his fidelity to his brother, to the
 "last."

Of what value upon a like occasion ought a
 sincere prudent and disinterested friend to appear!
 What an advantage is it for a Prince to give
 those who approach him the liberty of speaking
 their thoughts freely, and to be known to them
 in that light! The wise representations of Stratius
 had their effect upon the mind of Attalus. When
 that Prince was introduced to the Senate, without
 speaking against his brother, or asking to share
 the kingdom of Pergamus with him, he con-
 tented himself with congratulating the Senate in
 the name of Eumenes and his brothers upon the
 victory, that had lately terminated the war of
 Macedonia. He mentioned with great modesty
 his own services in that war. He desired, that
 Ambassadors might be sent to check the insolence
 of the Gauls, who ravaged the countries dependant
 upon Pergamus, and to put a stop to the hostilities
 of those Barbarians. He concluded with demand-
 ing

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Ant. C. 167.

ing for himself in particular the investiture of Ænos and Maronæa, cities of Thrace; which had been conquered by Philip father of Perseus, and disputed with him by Eumenes.

The Senate imagining, that Attalus would demand a second audience in order to speak in particular of his own pretensions to a part of his brother's kingdom, promised, that they would send the Ambassadors, and made the Prince the usual presents. They also promised to put him into possession of the two cities he had demanded. But, when it was known that he was set out from Rome, the Senate, offended to see, that he had not done what they expected from him, and not being able to revenge themselves in any other manner, they revoked the promise, which personally regarded him, and before the Prince was out of Italy, declared Ænos and Maronæa free and independent cities. However, an embassy was sent to the Gauls; but with what orders is not said.

The Roman policy here shews itself in full light, and that in a manner, which highly disgraces not only some particulars, but the whole Senate, to whom Polybius ascribes the low and unworthy revenge, with which it punished the laudable fidelity of Attalus in respect to his brother, and his declining to betray him by the black treachery he was advised to perpetrate. Livy, whose admiration for the Romans has no bounds, does not mention this last circumstance, which might indeed disgrace them not a little in the sense of every impartial reader; and he concludes this circumstance with saying: "Attalus received at Rome, as long as he was there and when he quitted it, all the presents and all the honours which the Senate and People usually grant to those they most esteem." Such an omission

tion is no small fault in an historian (a), whose principal duty is, first never to advance any thing false; and secondly, not to fear saying all that is true: in a word, to avoid even the suspicion of saying any thing through favour or enmity to persons.

A. R. 385.
Ant. C. 167.

The Rhodians came next in play. Full of anxiety they had sent two embassies to Rome upon the necks of each other. But the Senate at first refused to hear them, as having rendered themselves unworthy of that honour, and declaring war against them was even talked of. At length, after great instances having obtained an audience of the Senate, they appeared at it as suppliants, dressed in mourning habits, with their cheeks bathed in tears. Astymedes spoke, and with all the signs of the most lively and most humble grief took upon him the defence of his unfortunate country.

The Rhodians are ill received at Rome.
Polyb. Legat. 93, 99, 100, & 104.
Liv. xlv. 20, 25.

Speech of the Rhodians.
Ibid.

“ He at first took great care not to seem to intend to justify it. He owned, that it had justly drawn upon it the anger of the Roman People: he owned the faults it had committed: he did not palliate the wrong their indiscreet embassy had done, which the insolent haughtiness of him who spoke had rendered still more criminal. But he desired the Senate to make a difference between the whole body of the nation, and some particulars, whose conduct they disavowed, and whom they were ready to deliver up to them. He represented, that there was no city nor Commonwealth that had not in it some senseless and frantic members. That after all, no other crimes were imputed to them but words, foolish, rash, and extravagant in-

(a) Prima est historiarum lex, ne qua suspicio gratiæ sit in ne quid falsi dicere audeat; describendo, ne qua similitudo inde, ne quid veri non audeat: Cic. de Orat. II. 62.

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“ deed, (which he owned to be the character and
“ failing of his nation) but of which the wise
“ seldom take much notice, and do not punish
“ with the utmost rigour, no more than Jupiter
“ darts his thunder upon all those who speak of
“ him with little respect.” But, added he, *the
neutrality we observed in the late war, is considered
as a certain proof of our ill will to you. (a) Is there
a tribunal in the world, in which the intention, when
without effect, is punished as the action itself? But
should you carry your rigour to that excess, the punish-
ment cannot with justice fall upon any but those, who
have had that intention, and much the greatest num-
ber of us are innocent. And even supposing that this
neutrality and inaction render us criminal, are the
real services we did you in the two preceding wars to
be reckoned as nothing, and may they not cover the
omission imputed to us for the last? Let Philip, An-
tiochus, and Perseus be considered as three suffrages
in our cause; the two first will certainly be for us
and carry it in our favour; and the third, though
taken in the strictest sense, will appear doubtful and
uncertain. Can you, in this light, pass sentence of
death against Rhodes? For your sentence is upon the
point of deciding, whether it shall subsist any longer,
or be entirely destroyed? You may if you please de-
clare war against us; but you cannot make it: for
not a single Rhodian will take arms to defend himself.
If you persevere in your anger, we shall only ask time
to go to Rhodes to report our unfortunate embassy;
and that instant all the men, women, and free persons
of our state will embark with all our estates and ef-
fects: abandoning the gods of our country and our
household gods, we shall come to Rome, and after*

(a) Neque moribus neque inimicum perire, si nihil fœ-
legibus ullius civitatis ita com- rit quo id fiat, capitis damne-
paratum esse, ut, si quis vellet tur. Liv.

having thrown all our gold and silver at your feet, A. R. 585. Ant. C. 167. we will all deliver up ourselves to your discretion. We will suffer here before your eyes all that you shall decree. If Rhodes is destined to be plundered and burnt, at least we shall spare ourselves the sight of its destruction. You may, by your sentence, declare us enemies: but there is a secret sense within ourselves, that will pass one quite different; and whatever hostilities you exercise against the Rhodians, you will find in them only friends and vassals.

After this discourse, all the Deputies prostrated themselves upon the ground, and holding olive branches in their hands extended them towards the Senators to implore peace of them. When they had withdrawn, the Senate proceeded to give their suffrages. All who had served in Macedonia as Consuls, Prætors, or Lieutenant Generals, and had seen their senseless pride and ill will to the Romans with their own eyes, were much against them. Cato, so well known for the severity of his character, which often rose even to cruelty, was softened at this time in favour of the Rhodians, and spoke for them in a very lively and eloquent manner. Livy does not repeat his discourse, because it was then extant in a work of Cato's, intitled *De originibus*, of which we have spoken elsewhere, and in which he inserted his harangues. Cato declares in favour of the Rhodians. Ibid.

Aulus Gellius has preserved some fragments of this speech of Cato's, by which it appears, that he used almost the same reasons as the Rhodian Ambassadors. I shall cite what I think the most remarkable in it at the bottom of the page, in order to give the reader some examples of a manly and energetic style, which was the character of the Roman eloquence in those antient times, when people were more attentive to the force and soli-

A. R. 585.
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dity of thoughts, than to the elegance and harmony of words.

Cato begins his discourse with representing to the Romans, that they ought not, in consequence of the victory gained over the King of Macedonia, to abandon themselves to the transports of excessive joy. *(a) I know, says he, that prosperity usually begets pride and insolence; for which reason I am afraid, lest in the present deliberation some bad resolution may be taken, which will draw upon Rome some misfortune, that may make the frivolous joy to which she abandons herself vanish. Adversity in humbling our pride, restores us to our reason, and teaches us what it is fit for us to do. Prosperity, on the contrary, by the joy it occasions, puts us out of our*

(a) Scio solere plerisque hominibus rebus secundis atque prolixis animum excellere, superbiam atque ferociam augescere atque crescere: quod mihi nunc magnæ curæ est, quia hæc res tam secundè processit, ne quid in consulendo adversi eveniat, quod nostras secundas res confutet; neve hæc lætitia nimis luxuriosè eveniat. Adversæ res se dominant, & docent quid opus sit facto: Secundæ res lætitiâ transversum trudere solent a rectè consulendo atque intelligendo. Quo majore opere edico suadeoque, uti hæc res aliquot dies proferatur, dum ex tanto gaudio in potestatem nostram redeamus — Atque ego quidem arbitror Rhodenses voluisse nos ita depugnare uti depugnatum est, neque regem Persen vicisse. Non Rhodenses id modo voluere, sed multos populos ac multas nationes idem voluisse arbitror.

Atque haud scio, an partim eorum fuerint, qui non nostræ contumeliæ causa id noluerint, evenire. Sed enim id metuere, si nemo esset homo quem vereremur, & quicquid luberet faceremus, ne sub solo imperio nostro in servitute nostra essent. Libertatis suæ causâ in ea fuisse sententia arbitror. Atque Rhodenses tamen Persen publice nunquam adjuvere. Qui acerrime adversus eos dicit, ita dicit: hostes voluisse fieri. Et quis tandem & nostrum, qui, quod ad sese attinet, æquum censeat quempiam pœnas dare ob eam rem, quod arguatur male facere voluisse? Nemo, opinor: nam ego, quod ad me attinet, nolim. Rhodenses superbos esse aiunt — Sint sane superbi. Quid id ad nos attinet? Idne irascimini, si quis superbior est quam nos? Cato apud Aut. Gell. vii. 3.

bias,

bias, and makes us lose sight of the end, which a calm situation of mind would make us perceive and follow. For this reason I am absolutely of opinion, that we should defer the decision of this affair for some days, till having recovered from the violent emotions of our joy, we come to possess ourselves, and can deliberate more maturely. — I believe indeed that the Rhodians did wish, that the Romans had not conquered Perseus: but that desire is only common to them with all other States. And this is not the effect of enmity to the Romans, but love of their own liberty, for which they have just reason to fear, if there be no longer any power capable of balancing ours, and of preventing us from doing all that we think fit — For the rest, the Rhodians have not aided Perseus. Their whole crime, by the confession of their most inveterate accusers, is to have intended to become our enemies, and to declare against us. But how long has the will, the intention only become criminal? Is there amongst us a single person who would subject himself to this rule? For my part I would not. The Rhodians are proud, some say. What is that to us? Would it become us to make it a crime for them to be prouder than we are?

The opinion of so grave and so respected a Senator as Cato, prevented war from being made against the Rhodians. The answer given them did not declare them enemies, but at the same time did not treat them as allies, and left things still in suspense. They were ordered to withdraw the Governors they had in the cities of Lycia and Caria. Those provinces had been abandoned to them after the defeat of Antiochus, and they were deprived of them on the present occasion by way of punishment for their infidelity. They were also ordered some time after to evacuate the cities Caunus and Stratonicea. They had bought the first for two hundred talents of Ptolemy's Generals, and

A. R. 585.
Ant. C. 167.

*Answer of
the Senate.
Liv. xliv.
25.*

*Two hun-
dred thou-
sand
crowns.*

A. R. 585.
Ant. C. 167.

the second had been given them by Antiochus and Seleucus. Their yearly revenue from these two cities was an hundred and twenty talents.

The Senate's answer having dispelled the fear at Rhodes, that the Romans would take arms against their Republick, made all other ills seem light; and it is usual for the expectation of great misfortunes, when people see themselves delivered from them, to stifle the sense of such, as in other circumstances would have seemed very considerable. How hard soever the Senate's orders were, the Rhodians submitted to them, and executed them directly. They immediately decreed the Romans a crown of ten thousand pieces of gold in value, and made choice of the Admiral Theodotus to present it.

The alliance of Rome is at length granted to the Rhodians.
Polyb. Legat. 104.

He had orders to sollicite the alliance of the Romans: reasons of policy had prevented them from asking it hitherto. This favour was not granted them then. They did not obtain it till the year following, after long and great instances. Tiberius Gracchus, who was very lately returned from Asia, whither he had been sent as commissioner to examine into the state of it, was of great service to them. He declared, that the Rhodians had punctually obeyed the Senate's orders, and had passed sentence of death upon the partisans of Perseus. After so favourable a testimony, the alliance of the Commonwealth was granted to the Rhodians.

Heavy complaints of the Ætolians to P. Æmilius.
Liv. xlv. 18.

I have observed in the preceding book, that the Ætolians had presented themselves to Paulus Æmilius in mourning habits on his return from making the tour of Greece. The subject of their complaint was, that Liciscus and Tisippus, whom the credit of the Romans, to whom they had devoted themselves, had rendered all powerful in Ætolia, had surrounded the Senate with soldiers, lent

lent them by Bæbius, who commanded in the country for the Romans; that they had massacred five hundred and fifty of the principal persons of the nation, whose whole crime was having appeared to favour Perseus; that many others had been banished; and that the estates of both had been given to those, who informed against them.

If Paulus Æmilius had been sole judge in this affair, it is probable that he would have done justice to the Ætolians. In all the occasions wherein he acts from his own sense, he shews a

They do not obtain justice.

Liv. xlv.

21.

generous soul, that abounds with sentiments of humanity. But the council of the commissioners was actuated by different principles. All the informations made to them were reduced to knowing, not who had done or suffered wrong, but who had been for Perseus or for the Romans. The murderers in consequence were acquitted. The exiles had no more justice done them than the dead. Only Bæbius was sentenced, for having lent his assistance in this bloody execution. But why was he condemned, if it was just, and if not, why were those acquitted, who were the principal authors of it?

This sentence spread terror amongst all those who declared any attachment to Perseus, and extremely augmented the haughtiness and insolence of the Roman adherents. Amongst the principal persons of each city, there were three parties. The one was entirely devoted to the Romans, another was in amity with the Kings; and both making their court to their protectors with abject flattery, rendered themselves powerful in their cities, which they greatly oppressed. The third party of citizens, opposite to the two others, observed a kind of medium, espousing the party neither of the Romans nor of the Kings, but devoted themselves to the defence of their laws and liberty. These last

The power and pride of the partisans of Rome increase exceedingly.
Ibid.

A. R. 584. at bottom were much esteemed and beloved in
 Ant. C. 167. their respective cities, but had no authority in
 them. All offices, embassies, distinctions, and
 rewards, after the defeat of Perseus, were conferred
 on those who had followed the party of the Ro-
 mans, and they imployed their credit to ruin those
 inevitably, who were not in the same interest.

With this view, they repaired in great numbers
 from all parts of Greece to the commissioners ap-
 pointed by the Senate to regulate its affairs. They
 informed them, that besides those, who had
 openly declared for Perseus, there were many
 others secretly enemies to the Romans, and who,
 under pretence of supporting liberty, prejudiced
 every body against Rome; and that Greece would
 never remain quiet and entirely submissive to the
 Romans, unless that after having crushed the op-
 posite party, the authority of those was firmly
 established, who had no interest at heart but that
 of the Roman Commonwealth. The ten com-
 missioners perfectly approved all these reflexions,
 and made them the rule of their conduct.

*Unjust po-
 licy of the
 Romans.*

What justice can be expected from a tribunal,
 determined to consider and treat all as criminals,
 who are not of the Roman party, and to bestow
 all kinds of favour upon those, who will declare
 themselves enemies and informers against them?
 We see here to what the ambition of rule leads
 mankind. It makes them blind to all sense of
 duty and decency; and justice itself, when an ob-
 stacle to the projects they have formed, is sacri-
 ficed as well as every thing else. The more we
 advance in the history of the Romans, the more
 corrupt we see them, and the more they depart
 from the antient sentiments of generosity and equity
 to abandon themselves to a policy contrary to all
 the rules of virtue. The consequences of these
 new maxims are upon the point of evidencing
 themselves

themselves by the most unjust and notorious persecution it is possible to imagine. A. R. 585.
Ant. C. 167.

The Roman General, in effect of orders which he did not approve, but which he thought himself obliged to execute, having received the list of the names of the suspected, sent for them from Ætolia, Acarnania, Epirus, and Bœotia, and ordered them to follow him to Rome, to defend themselves against what was laid to their charge. Commissioners were also sent to Asia, to take informations against those, who had favoured Perseus either publicly or in secret.

Of all the little States of Greece none gave the Roman Commonwealth so much umbrage as the Achaian league, which had hitherto caused itself to be respected by the number and valour of its troops, the ability of its Generals, and especially by the union that prevailed between the cities which composed it. The Romans, who had long been jealous of a power capable of opposing their ambitious designs, especially if it had joined either the King of Macedonia or the King of Syria, had laboured on different occasions to weaken, by dividing, it: but it was not till the present conjuncture, that they began to act with open violence, and to trample under foot the rights and liberty of the Achaian Commonwealth. The Achai-
ans suspec-
ted of hav-
ing favou-
red Perseus
are sent to
Rome, ba-
nished, and
dispersed
into diffa-
rent cities.
Liv. xlv.
31.
Pausan. in
Achaic.
p. 416,
417.

After the defeat of Perseus, Callicrates, entirely to ruin the advocates of liberty, whom he considered as his enemies, with the Romans, to whom he had sold himself, gave in the names of all he suspected to have favoured Perseus to the ten commissioners. They did not think it sufficed to write to the Achaians, as they had done to the other States, to order them to send such of their citizens as were accused of having favoured Perseus, to Rome; but they deputed two of their own number to go in person to make known this order to the

A. R. 585
Ant. C. 167
the League. Two reasons induced them to act in this manner. The first was the fear lest the Achaians, who were very jealous of their liberty and full of courage, should refuse to obey the letters, which should be sent them, and that Callicrates and the other informers should run the risque of losing their lives in the assembly: the second was, that nothing was found amongst Perseus's papers to convict the Achaians informed against; and they were however for destroying them.

The two commissioners sent into Achaia were C. Claudius and Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus. The one of them, more prone to injustice than the other, (Pausanias who has preserved this fact, does not say which) complained in the assembly, that many of the most powerful persons of the league had supported Perseus against the Romans, and demanded that they should be condemned to suffer death, after which he should name them. This proposal shocked the whole Assembly. They cried out on all sides, that it was unheard of for persons to be condemned before they were accused, and he was desired to point out the guilty. Being thus forced to explain himself, he replied, at the suggestion of Callicrates, that all those who had been in office, and had commanded the armies, were guilty of that crime. Zeno then, who was highly considered amongst the Achaians, rising up, spoke as follows: *I am of the number of those who have been Prætors, and commanded the armies. I protest, that I have acted in nothing contrary to the interests of the Romans; and I offer to prove it, either in this assembly of the Achaians, or at Rome before the Senate.* The Roman laid hold of his last words, as favouring his design, and ordered that all those whom Callicrates had informed against in particular, and whom he named, should be sent to Rome.

The whole assembly were in the highest aff-
 fliction. Nothing of the like nature had ever
 appeared, not even under Philip, nor his son
 Alexander. All powerful as they were, they
 never thought of making those who were against
 them come to Macedonia. There were regular
 tribunals in Greece, in which the affairs of the
 Greeks were determined according to all the for-
 malities prescribed by the laws. Those Princes
 left the decision of such affairs to the counsel of
 the Amphietyones, their natural judges. The Ro-
 mans did not act in this manner. By an enterprize
 which may be called tyrannical, they caused above
 a thousand of the most considerable citizens of the
 Achaian league to be seized and carried to Rome.
 Callicrates became more than ever the object of
 horror and detestation to all the Achaians. They
 shunned the sight of him as of an infamous traitor,
 and nobody would bathe in the publick baths after
 him, till all the water had first been emptied out
 of them.

Polybius, the famous historian, was of the
 number of these accused persons. When they
 arrived at Rome, the Senate, without hearing
 them, without examining their cause, or ob-
 serving any form of justice, and supposing without
 the least foundation, and contrary to what was
 publicly known, that they had been heard and
 condemned in the assembly of the Achaians,
 banished them all into Hetruria, where they re-
 mained dispersed in the different cities. Polybius
 was treated with less rigor. The two sons of Pau-
 lus Æmilius obtained permission for him to stay
 at Rome. This service to Polybius was of great
 advantage to themselves, as I shall soon observe:
 but first it is necessary to relate in this place all
 that concerns the unhappy condition of these
 exiles.

The

A. R. 585.
 Ant. C. 167.

A. R. 585.
 Ant. C. 167.
*The Achai-
 ans send
 several
 Deputa-
 tions to
 Rome in
 favour of
 the exiles,
 but in
 vain.*
 Polyb.
 Legat.
 205.

The Achaians, extremely surprized and afflicted at the fate of their countrymen, sent Deputies to Rome to desire, that the Senate would take cognizance of their cause. They were answered that had been done, and that themselves had tried it. Upon this answer, the Achaians sent the same Deputies back to Rome, (Eureas was at their head) to protest again before the Senate, that the accused had never been heard in their country, and that their affair had never been brought to a trial. Eureas accordingly entered the Senate with the other Deputies, who accompanied him. He related the orders he had received, and desired, that cognizance might at length be taken of the affair, and that the accused should not be suffered to perish without judgment passed on the crime with which they were charged. That it was to be desired that the Senate itself would enquire into the affair, and make known the guilty: but that, if their greater occupations did not afford them leisure, they had only to refer the affair to the Achaians, who would do justice in it in such a manner as should shew the aversion they had for the offenders.

Nothing was more equitable than this demand; and the Senate in consequence was extremely at a loss, how to answer it. On the one side, they did not believe it proper for them to try it, for the accusation was entirely false; and on the other, to dismiss the exiles without any trial, was to condemn their first conduct, and besides irretrievably to ruin their friends in Achaia. The Senate, to leave the Greeks no hopes of recovering their exiles, and to make them more dependent and submissive to their orders, wrote to Callicrates in Achaia, and to the partisans of Rome in the other States, that it did not appear for their interest, nor that of the States themselves, that the exiles should return
 into

into their country. This answer not only put the exiles, but all Greece, into a consternation. It caused an universal mourning. Every body was assured, that there was nothing further to be hoped for the accused Achaians, and that their banishment was perpetual.

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Ant. C. 167.

However the Achaian Commonwealth sent new Deputies, whom they instructed to demand the return of the exiles, and especially of Polybius and Stratius: for most of the rest had died during their banishment, and especially the principal persons. These Deputies had orders to ask this favour as suppliants, lest by insisting upon the innocence of the exiles, they might seem to reproach the injustice of the Senate. Nothing escaped them in their harangue, that was not extremely reserved. Notwithstanding that, the Senate continued inflexible, and declared they would adhere to what had been regulated. Is the antient Senate of Rome to be seen in this conduct?

Polyb.
Legat.
122.

The Achaians did not desist, but decreed several deputations at different times. They had reason to persevere so much in applying to the Senate in favour of their countrymen. Though their repeated instances had no other effect than to set the injustice of the Romans in greater light, they cannot be considered as useless. But many of the Senators had been moved with them, and supported so just a demand with their voices.

Id. Legat.
129, 130.

The Achaians having received advice of this, thought it necessary to take the advantage of so favourable a disposition, and decreed a last deputation. The exiles had now been banished seventeen years, and many of them were dead. Great debates arose in the Senate about them, some being for having them sent back into their country, and reinstated in their fortunes, and others opposing it. Scipio Æmilianus, at the request

The exiles are at length sent back into their own country.
Plut. in Caton.
P. 341.

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Ant. C. 167.

quest of Polybius, had solicited Cato in their favour. That grave Senator rising up to speak in his turn: *To see us disputing an whole day, said he, whether a few old men of Greece shall be buried by our grave-diggers, or those of their own country, one would think we had nothing to do, and that our purpose was to murther time.* (a) This jest perhaps had its effect, and made the Senate ashamed of their long tenacious opposition. Policy also might have more share than regard to justice in the Senate's suffering themselves to be at last prevailed upon. It was when they were upon the point of entering into a war with Carthage, that they dismissed these exiles. It is probable that they were glad to give the Achaians some satisfaction, at the time, when they were going to have such powerful enemies as the Carthaginians upon their hands.

Polybius was further for desiring, that they should be reinstated in the honours and dignities they possessed before their banishment: but before he presented his memorial to the Senate, he thought it proper to sound Cato, who smiling said to him, *Polybius, you do not imitate the wisdom of Ulysses. You are for going back into the cave of the Cyclops for some wretched cloaths you have left there.* The exiles returned in consequence into their country: but of a thousand that came out of it at that time, only about three hundred remained. Polybius did not use this permission; or if he did, it was not long before he rejoined Scipio, as three years after he was with him at the siege of Carthage.

Great
friendship
between
young Sci-
pio and
Polybius.
Polyb. a-
pud Valef.

Scipio, when but eighteen years old, had contracted a great intimacy with Polybius after his return from Macedonia. They had been a little acquainted before. But it was undoubtedly upon

(a) *Ridiculum acri Fortus ac melius magnas plerumque secat*
res. Horat.

149, 150.

the

the occasion of the important service done Polybius, as we have said above, by the sons of Paulus Æmilius, that Scipio contracted this friendship with him, which became so advantageous to that young Roman, and which has scarce done him less honour with posterity than all his victories. It appears, that Polybius lived with the two brothers. One day when Scipio was alone with him, he opened his heart to him without reserve, and complained, but in a very kind and tender manner, that Polybius always addressed his discourse in their conversations at table to his brother Fabius. *I perceive plainly,* said he, *that this indifference for me proceeds from your believing, that I am a thoughtless young man, and void of the taste that now prevails in Rome, because I neither apply myself to the studies of the bar, nor cultivate eloquence. But how should I do so, I am perpetually told, that the world does not expect an orator from the house of the Scipios, but a General. I must own and hope you will pardon the freedom, with which I tell you so, that I am sensibly concerned and afflicted by your indifference for me.*

Polybius, surprized at this discourse, which he did not expect, consoled him as well as he could, and assured him, “that if he usually addressed his discourse to his brother, it was not for want of esteem and affection for him, but solely because Fabius was the elder; and besides knowing that both brothers thought in the same manner, and lived in the greatest union, he believed that speaking to the one was speaking to both.” *For the rest,* added he, *I offer you my service sincerely, and you may dispose absolutely of me. As to the sciences, in the study of which you are now employed, you will find assistance enough from the great number of learned men who come every day from Greece to Rome: but as to war, which is peculiarly*

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quest of Polybius, had solicited Cato in their favour. That grave Senator rising up to speak in his turn: *To see us disputing an whole day*, said he, *whether a few old men of Greece shall be buried by our grave-diggers, or those of their own country, one would think we had nothing to do, and that our purpose was to murder time.* (a) This jest perhaps had its effect, and made the Senate ashamed of their long tenacious opposition. Policy also might have more share than regard to justice in the Senate's suffering themselves to be at last prevailed upon. It was when they were upon the point of entering into a war with Carthage, that they dismissed these exiles. It is probable that they were glad to give the Achæians some satisfaction, at the time, when they were going to have such powerful enemies as the Carthaginians upon their hands.

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Polybius.

Polyb. a-
pud Valef.

149, 150.

Scipio, when but eighteen years old, had contracted a great intimacy with Polybius after his return from Macedonia. They had been a little acquainted before. But it was undoubtedly upon

(a) *Ridiculum acri Fortus ac melius magnas plerumque secatur.*
res. Horat.

the

the occasion of the important service done Polybius, as we have said above, by the sons of Paulus Æmilius, that Scipio contracted this friendship with him, which became so advantageous to that young Roman, and which has scarce done him less honour with posterity than all his victories. It appears, that Polybius lived with the two brothers. One day when Scipio was alone with him, he opened his heart to him without reserve, and complained, but in a very kind and tender manner, that Polybius always addressed his discourse in their conversations at table to his brother Fabius. *I perceive plainly, said he, that this indifference for me proceeds from your believing, that I am a thoughtless young man, and void of the taste that now prevails in Rome, because I neither apply myself to the studies of the bar, nor cultivate eloquence. But how should I do so, I am perpetually told, that the world does not expect an orator from the house of the Scipios, but a General. I must own and hope you will pardon the freedom, with which I tell you so, that I am sensibly concerned and afflicted by your indifference for me.*

Polybius, surprized at this discourse, which he did not expect, consoled him as well as he could, and assured him, “that if he usually addressed his discourse to his brother, it was not for want of esteem and affection for him, but solely because Fabius was the elder; and besides knowing that both brothers thought in the same manner, and lived in the greatest union, he believed that speaking to the one was speaking to both.” *For the rest, added he, I offer you my service sincerely, and you may dispose absolutely of me. As to the sciences, in the study of which you are now employed, you will find assistance enough from the great number of learned men who come every day from Greece to Rome: but as to war, which is peculiarly*

A. R. 585. *peculiarly your profession as well as your passion. It is*
 Ant. C. 167. *in my power to be of some use to you.*

Scipio then taking him by the hands, which he pressed in his own: *Oh! when, said he, shall I see the day, when free from all other engagements, and living with me, you will have the goodness to apply yourself in forming me. It will be then that I shall really believe myself worthy of my ancestors.* From thenceforth Polybius, charmed and tenderly affected with such noble sentiments in a young man, attached himself particularly to him. Scipio, on his side, could not quit him; his greatest pleasure was to converse with him: he respected him as his father, and Polybius on his side loved him as his son. The sequel will shew, how much Scipio improved from the conversations and advice of so inestimable a friend; an inestimable treasure for young Noblemen, when they are so happy to acquire, and so wise as to know, its value.

Abject be- Prusias, King of Bithynia, being come to Rome
haviour of to congratulate the Senate and People upon the
Prusias. good success of the war against Perseus, degraded
the Majesty of Kings by his abject flatteries,
which rose even to impiety. He had before ex-
ercised himself in that style: and when Roman Am-
bassadors had been sent to him, he went to meet
them, with his head shaved, a cap and the dress
of freedmen; then saluting the Deputies: You
see, said he to them, one of your freedmen, ready to
do whatever you please, and to conform entirely to all
your customs. He did not depart from the same
abject sentiments, when he came in person to
Rome. On his entering the Senate, he kept near
the door, holding down his hands, opposite to the
Senators who continued sitting; and prostrating
himself kissed the threshold. Afterwards, ad-
dresssing himself to the assembly he cried out, I sa-
lute

lute you, gods preservers. The rest of his discourse suited this prelude. Polybius says, that he should be ashamed to repeat it. Prusias concluded with asking, "that the Roman People would renew the alliance with him; and grant him a certain territory conquered from Antiochus, which the Gauls had seized without its being given them by any body. And lastly, he recommended his son Nicomedes to them." Every thing was granted him: only commissioners were appointed to examine the state of the territory in question, and to be assured whether it belonged to Antiochus, in which case the Roman People freely gave it to Prusias.

Livy, in his relation of this audience, omits the abject submissions of Prusias, of which he says the Roman historians did not speak. He contents himself with repeating at the end, part of what Polybius had said of it. He had reason. For this base behaviour, if real, disgraced the Senate as much that suffered it, as the Prince that committed it.

Here ends all that remains of Livy. His Roman history, containing an hundred and forty, *End of Livy's history.* or an hundred and forty-two books, extended from the foundation of Rome, to the death and funeral of Drusus, which happened in the 743d year of Rome, and consequently included the same number of years. Of these hundred and forty-two books only thirty-five, as I have already observed, are come down to us, of which some are not entire. These are not the fourth part of his work. What a loss is this to the learned world! My history, for the rest of it, will make it evident. I ought not to wonder that hitherto it has not displeased the publick. The beauties of Livy, which were the admiration of Rome, at a time when taste had attained its highest perfection, and which

A. R. 58.
Ant. C. 167.

have been universally admired by all succeeding ages, though much diminished in a foreign tongue, could not but meet with some success, especially in an age like ours, which has had, and still retains, so much similitude with that of Augustus. Plutarch, who will now be my principal guide, will console me in some degree for the loss of Livy.

In the sequel I shall make great use of the supplement of Freinshemius. The reader may see what I have said of that excellent work, Vol. III.

But notwithstanding the lights which I shall have both from antient and modern authors, there will still be barren years from time to time, that will afford but little matter, and facts, of which the exact date cannot be assigned. Thus I shall not be able to dispose my history by years with the same regularity as in the preceding books. I shall however take care to avoid confusion: and without determining the year, in which each fact passed, because that is impossible, I shall join those together, which have any relation to each other.

SECT. II.

Different embassies at Rome. The Senate prevents Eumenes from entering Rome. Prusias by his Ambassadors accuses Eumenes before the Senate. Attalus and Athenæus justify their brother Eumenes. Imprudent conduct of Sulpicius in Asia against Eumenes. Alliance renewed with Ariarathes Philopator. Censorship of Paulus Æmilius and of Marcius Philippus. Sun-dial. Troubles in Syria after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes. Demetrius demands in vain permission of the Senate to return into Syria. Murther of Octavius. Demetrius escapes from Rome, and is universally acknowledged King. Sicknes and death of Paulus Æmilius: his funeral; and praise. Love of poverty

poverty of Tubero, and his wife the daughter of Paulus Æmilius. Generous and noble use which Scipio Æmilianus, the son of Paulus Æmilius, makes of his riches on various occasions. Tubero compared with Scipio Æmilianus. Nasica prevails upon the People to have a Theatre almost finished, demolished. AFFAIRS OF ROME. Decree for banishing philosophers and rhetoricians from Rome. Embassy of Carneades to Rome. Two Consuls abdicate upon account of the want of some religious forms in their election. Tribune of the People punished for having failed in respect to the Pontifex Maximus. WARS with the Dalmatians and some states of the Ligurians. The Dalmatians are defeated by Figulus and Nasica. The Massylians are revenged by the Romans on the Oxibians and Deceates. AFFAIRS OF MACEDONIA. Andriscus, who called himself the son of Perseus, seizes Macedonia. He is at length defeated, taken and sent to Rome. Two new impostors rise up in Macedonia, and are defeated.

M. CLAUDIUS.

C. SULPICIUS.

A. R. 586.

Ant. C. 166.

WE have already observed, that since the defeat of Perseus new Embassies came every day to Rome, either to congratulate the Romans upon that victory, to justify themselves, or excuse the attachment they seemed to have for that Prince, or lastly to lay complaints before the Senate. Different embassies to Rome.

Prusias was scarce set out, when news came that Eumenes was upon the point of arriving. This advice perplexed the Senate. That Prince, in the war with Perseus, had acted in such a manner as to be considered neither as a friend, nor an enemy. There were violent suspicions, not certain

The Senate prevent Eumenes from entering Rome.
Polyb.

A. R. 526.
Ant. C. 166.

proofs, against him. To admit him to an audience was to declare him innocent: and to condemn him as criminal, was to lay themselves under the necessity of making war with him, and openly to proclaim, that they had been wanting in point of prudence in loading a Prince with honours and possessions, whose character they had little known. To avoid these inconveniences, the Senate passed a decree, by which all Kings were prohibited from coming to Rome; and they caused this decree to be signified to the King of Pergamus, who was not at a loss to comprehend the sense of it. Accordingly he returned into his dominions.

*Prusias by
his Ambaf-
sador ac-
cuses Eu-
menes be-
fore the
Senate.
Polyb. Le-
gat. 104.*

This affront encouraged his enemies, and cooled the ardor of his friends. Prusias sent Ambassadors to Rome, to complain of the irruptions which he made into Bithynia. He added, that that Prince held secret intelligence with Antiochus, that he oppressed all those who seemed to favour the Romans, and in particular the Gallo-Grecians his neighbours, not observing the decrees of the Senate in respect to them. The latter had also sent Deputies to Rome, to carry their complaints thither, which they often repeated afterwards, as well as Prusias. The Senate did not declare themselves yet. They contented themselves with aiding and supporting the Gallo-Greeks as much as possible underhand, without openly injuring Eumenes.

*Attalus
and Athe-
næus vin-
dicate
their bro-
ther Eu-
menes.
Polyb. Le-
gat. 106.*

The King of Pergamus, who had been forbade to enter Rome, sent Attalus and Athenæus his two brothers thither, to answer the accusations, with which he was charged. The apology which they made, seemed solidly to refute all the complaints, that had been brought against the King; and the Senate was so well satisfied with them, that they were sent back into Asia with great honours and presents. They however did not entirely efface

efface the impressions conceived against their brother. They could not be persuaded, that there was no intelligence and combination formed between him and the King of Syria. And though Tiberius Gracchus, who had been sent some time before into Asia, to enquire into the disposition of the Kings and States in respect to Rome, had given a favourable account of the conduct of those two Princes, who had treated him with all possible politeness and respect, the Senate again dispatched Manius Servius and Sulpicius Gallus with orders to penetrate things to the bottom, and strictly to examine the conduct of Eumenes and Antiochus.

Sulpicius acted in this commission in a very imprudent manner. He was a vain man, who loved noise, and sought to make a figure by braving Eumenes. When he arrived in Asia, he caused publick notices to be fixed up in all the cities, that those who had any complaints to make in respect to that Prince should come to him at Sardis. There, during ten days, he gave a calm hearing to all the accusations, people thought fit to form against Eumenes: a liberty which set all the malecontents at work, and opened the door of all kinds of calumnies.

About this time died Ariarathes King of Cappadocia, whose sister Eumenes had married. His son Ariarathes, surnamed Philopator, succeeded him. The father had intended, when his son came of age, to resign the crown to him, but the young Prince would not consent to it: this occasioned him to be called *Philopator*, that is, *Lover of his father*: a very laudable action, at a time when it was common for Princes to acquire Thrones by parricide! As soon as young Ariarathes became King, he sent Deputies to Rome to demand, that the alliance, which his father had with the Romans might be renewed: this was granted him with great professions

A. R. 586.
Ant. C. 166.

sions of esteem and good will. The Senate, was prejudiced in favour of these Princes, in consequence of the report, which Ti. Gracchus had made of their disposition, on his return from the embassy of which we have spoke above.

I pass over several respective complaints of the Kings of Pergamus, Bithynia, and Cappadocia, as well as different embassies on both sides to Rome. I have spoken of them in the ninth volume of the Antient History.

Censorship of P. Æmilius, and Marcus Philippus.
Plut. in Paul.
Sundial.
Plin. vii. 60.

On the closing of the *Census* in the 588th year of Rome by the Censors Paulus Æmilius and Marcus Philippus, the citizens amounted to the number of three hundred and thirty seven thousand four hundred and fifty two.

A new Sun-dial was erected in the place of the old one, which had been set up near the tribunal of harangues an hundred years before. I have spoken of it in Vol. IV.

I refer speaking of some laws passed about this time against the luxury of the table for another place.

The facts which we have just related took up three years, 586, 587, 588, and part of 589.

A. R. 589.
Ant. C. 163.

Troubles in Syria after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes.

Polyb. Le-gat. 107. Justin. xxxiv. 3. App. in Syr. Demetrius demands the Se-nate's per-

TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.

M. JUVENCIUS THALNA.

The death of Antiochus Epiphanes, which happened the preceding year, made way for great troubles in Syria. Antiochus Eupator, his son, only nine years of age, had succeeded him under the tuition of Lysias. But Demetrius, the son of Seleucus Philopator, who was actually an hostage at Rome, pretended, that the crown was his right. He therefore demanded liberty of the Senate to return into Syria, and earnestly entreated it to aid him in ascending a throne, to which he was lawful heir,

as to the son of Seleucus the eldest brother of Epi-
phanes, who had reigned before. To induce the
Senate to favour him, he represented, that having
been brought up at Rome from twelve years old
(he was now three and twenty) he should always
consider that city as his native country, the Senators
as his fathers, and their sons as his brothers. The
Senate had more regard to the interests of the
Commonwealth than to the rights of Demetrius,
and judged, it would (a) be more advantageous
to the Romans, that there should be a minor
King upon the throne of Syria, than a Prince like
Demetrius, who might in the sequel become for-
midable to them. Equity and publick Faith are
now seen to decline every day in the Senate. The
Senators passed a decree to confirm Eupator, and
sent Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Au-
relius into Syria, with the character of Embassa-
dors, to regulate all things there conformably to
the articles of the treaty made with Antiochus the
great. Their view was to weaken that kingdom as
much as possible.

A. R. 589.
Ant. C. 163.
mission to
return into
Syria in
vain.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA,
C. MARCIUS FIGULUS.

A. R. 590.
Ant. C. 162.

When the Embassadors arrived, they found
that the King had more ships and elephants than
were allowed by the treaty. They caused the
ships to be burnt and the elephants to be killed, that
exceeded the number stipulated by the treaty, and
made such regulations in all other things, as were
most for the advantage of the Romans. This
treatment seemed insupportable, and incensed the

Murder
of Octavi-
Cic. Phi-
lip. ix. 4.

(a) Senatu, tacito iudicio, num futurum arbitrate. Jus-
tutius apud pupillum, quam
apud eum, [Demetrium] reg-

A. R. 590.
Ant. C. 162.

People against them. One called Leptinus was so much exasperated, that in his rage he fell upon * Octavius, whilst he was in the bath, and killed him. Lyfias, the regent of the kingdom, was suspected of having underhand shared in this assassination. Ambassadors were sent to Rome, to justify the King, and protest that he had not had any share in this fact. The Senate dismissed them without any answer, not having sufficient proofs against Lyfias, and on another side not believing it consistent with the dignity of the Roman name to accept a slight satisfaction for such an insult from a person justly suspected. By their silence they reserved the enquiry into and punishment of the crime to themselves.

*Demetrius
flies from
Rome, ar-
rives in
Syria, and
is generally
acknow-
ledged
King.*

Demetrius believed, that the dissatisfaction of the Romans with Eupator, was a favourable conjuncture it was proper for him to improve, and he applied a second time to the Senate for permission to return into Syria. He took this step contrary to the opinion of most of his friends, who advised him to make his escape without saying any thing. The event shewed him, that they judged right. As the same reasons of interest, which the Senate had at first for keeping him at Rome still subsisted, he had the same answer, and the grief to experience a second refusal. He then gave into the first counsel of his friends; and Polybius the historian, who was then at Rome, was one of those, who pressed him most to put it secretly, but suddenly, in execution. He hearkned to him. After having taken all his measures, he

* This Octavius had been well known under the name of Consul some time before, and Augustus, was of the same family, but of another branch, of which none had ever been Consuls. Cic. Philipp. ix. 4. Octavius Cæsar, afterwards Emperor, so

quitted

quitted Rome under pretext of an hunting-match, ^{A. R. 590.}
 repaired to Ostia, and embarked with a small train ^{Ant. C. 162.}
 on board * a Carthaginian ship bound to Tyre.
 All that the Senate could do, was some days after
 to depute Ti. Gracchus, L. Lentulus, and Servilius
 Glaucia into Syria, to observe what effect the return
 of Demetrius would produce there.

Demetrius having landed at Triopoli in Syria,
 caused a report to be spread, that the Senate had
 sent him to take possession of his Dominions, and
 that they were fully resolved to support him in it.
 Eupator was immediately considered as irretrievably
 ruined, and every body abandoned him to go over
 to Demetrius. Eupator and Lyfias were seized by
 their own troops, and delivered up to their enemy,
 who put them to death. Thus Demetrius found
 himself established upon the throne without oppo-
 sition, and with prodigious rapidity.

I shall say little in the sequel of the affairs of the
 East and of Egypt, except when such facts occur
 as are closely interwoven with the Roman History.
 For the rest, the reader will permit me to refer him
 to the Antient History.

L. ANICIUS GALLUS.

M. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.

A. R. 592.
 Ant. C. 160.

I have said something before of the Censorship ^{Sickness}
 of Paulus Æmilius, in which he acquired, as in ^{and death}
 all his other employments, great reputation. On ^{of P. Æ.}
 quitting this office, he was taken ill of a distemper; ^{milius.}
 that was at first believed very dangerous, but which
 afterwards seemed of a lingering kind. The
 physicians having advised him change of air, he
 embarked for Velia, where he remained a con-

* This ship was going to carry the first fruits and revenues of
 Carthage to Tyre, according to custom.

A. R. 592.
Ant C. 160.

considerable time in a very solitary and retired house near the sea. The Romans soon lamented his absence, and on more than one occasion testified by their regret and impatience to see him again. He could not resist sentiments so grateful to him, and returned to Rome, which had not long the happiness to possess him. He died soon after, universally regretted by all orders of the citizens.

His obsequies.

His funeral was solemnized with a pomp truly worthy of the merit and character of that great man. It did not consist in the sumptuous magnificence, that usually attends this kind of ceremonies, but in the most sincere affection, true sorrow, and warm gratitude, expressed not only by the citizens, but the enemies themselves. The Ambassadors of Macedonia, who were then at Rome, asked as a favour to be permitted to carry the bier of Paulus Æmilius on their shoulders. Upon which Valerius Maximus makes this reflexion: "This mark of esteem will appear still more extraordinary, if we consider, that the forepart of this bier was adorned with paintings, wherein were represented the triumphs which the person whose memory they honoured, had gained over Macedonia. (a) And indeed, what veneration and respect for Paulus Æmilius did not those express, who through affection for him, did not conceive horror in carrying themselves through an whole people, the evidences of the defeats of their nation. This sight made his funeral seem less a pomp of the kind, than a sort of second triumph."

(a) Quantum enim Paulo tribuerant, propter quem gentis suæ claudium indicia per ora vulgi ferre non exhorruerunt. Quod spectaculum funeri speciem alterius triumphi adiecit.

But

But what constitutes the most exalted praise of A. R. 592. Ant. C. 160. Praise of P. Æmilius. Offic. ii. 76. Paulus Æmilius, is the very moderate fortune he left at his death. The sum which he caused to be carried into the publick treasury on the day of his triumph, amounted to about one million three hundred thousands pounds sterling; and it must indeed have been very considerable, as it sufficed to cause the taxes paid by the Roman citizens to be abolished. (a) Believing himself too happy in having enriched the Commonwealth, he did not let the least part of those immense spoils enter his own house, but contented himself with leaving it the remembrance of his name, and a glory that could not expire with the world. In order that his estate might be in a condition to pay his wife's dower, which amounted to about three thousand eight hundred pounds, it was necessary to sell part of his slaves, moveables and some farms: after which the remainder of his whole fortune was only about nine thousand three hundred and seventy five pounds.

That Paulus Æmilius, descended from one of the most noble and antient houses of Rome, which had been rendered illustrious by the greatest offices and dignities, inherited only so moderate a fortune from his ancestors, reflects honour upon a long succession of them. But that in the midst of so many occasions of enriching himself by legitimate means, and in age, wherein the antient maxims were almost universally despised, he should constantly keep within the bounds of a moderate patrimony, is a glory peculiar to himself. It certainly required an extraordinary force of soul

(a) At hic nihil domum secum actum existimans, quod suam præter memoriam nominis sempiternam detulit. Cic. ex illa victoria alii pecuniam, ipse gloriam occupasset. Val.

Penates suos nulla ex parte Max. iv. 3. locupletiores fecit: præclare

and

A. R. 592.
Ant. C. 160.

and superiority of courage not to give way to the torrent, and to set himself above examples and discourse.

*Esteem and
love of po-
verty of
Tubero and
his wife
the daugh-
ter of P.
Æmilius.*

The antient taste of esteem and love of simplicity, and even poverty, was still supported in some families by good domestick examples, and by the extreme care taken not to ally with persons of different principles. It was in this spirit Paulus Æmilius chose Ælius Tubero for his son-in-law, (a) a man of the greatest worth, says Plutarch, and one who bore poverty more generously and more nobly than any other Roman. There were sixteen very near relations, all of the name and family of the *Ælii*, who had only one small house in the city, and another in the country, in which they all lived with their wives and a great number of small children. I have mentioned the same Tubero above in speaking of the silver cup, given him by his father-in-law Paulus Æmilius, which was the first piece of plate that ever entered the house of the *Ælii*.

The wife of this illustrious lover of poverty did not degenerate from the nobleness of his sentiments. Plutarch relates, that Æmilia, the daughter of a father twice Consul, and who had twice triumphed, was not ashamed of her husband's poverty, but admired the virtue in him, that made him consent to continue poor; that is the motive, which kept him in his state of poverty, by proscribing the means of making himself rich, which are usually far from honest, and full of injustice. For legitimate methods for a noble Roman to acquire riches were very rare, to whom those of trade and manufacture were prohibited, and who could not, in reward of the services he rendered the State, expect either gratification, pension, or

(a) Ἄνὴρ ἀξίος, καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατος, Ῥωμαίων πάντα χρεώμενος.

any of the advantages, which officers in these days usually receive from the liberality of Kings. He had scarce any means of becoming rich, but by plundering the provinces, as most of the Magistrates and Generals had now done for some time. And it was this greatness of soul, this disinterestedness, these sentiments of honour, this preference avowedly given to virtue over riches, which this illustrious lady admired in her husband, and with great reason. As she was infinitely above the common and vulgar manner of thinking, through the veils of poverty and simplicity she distinguished the virtue which were the cause of them, and thought herself obliged to respect them still more from the very point which would perhaps have made him contemptible to the many. *Θαυμάζουσα τὴν ἀρετὴν δι' ἧς πένος ἦν.* It was in the house of Paulus Æmilius, this illustrious lady had imbibed these great principles: and we are going to see, it is in consequence of the same principles, that Scipio Æmilianus her brother makes the most noble use of riches it is possible to imagine.

Greatness of soul can appear with lustre in more than one point in view, and is not confined within the bounds of camps and armies. Before we produce our Scipio upon this theatre, I believed it proper to shew him in his family and domestick life, especially with relation to the use of riches.

I have already observed, that Scipio, at hardly eighteen years of age, had devoted himself entirely to Polybius, and that he considered as the greatest good fortune of his life the occasion of forming himself by the counsels of such a friend, whose conversation he preferred to all the idle amusements which have usually so much attraction for young persons. What hopes may not beconceived of the future from such a disposition!

A. R. 592.
 Ant. C. 160.

Polybius began by inspiring him with extreme aversion for the pleasures equally dangerous and shameful, to which the Roman youth abandoned themselves, already almost universally depraved and corrupted by luxury, and the disorders, which riches, and the new conquests had introduced at Rome. Scipio, during the first five years of being in so excellent a school, knew well how to improve from the lessons he received in it. In consequence, having had the courage to set himself above the bad example of the youth, he was from thenceforth considered as the model of prudence and wisdom.

Always directed by the wise counsels of Polybius, he added that innocence of manners, generosity, noble disinterestedness, and the most illustrious use of riches, virtues so necessary to persons of high birth, and which Scipio carried to their supreme degree, as may be seen from some facts related by Polybius, which are highly worthy of admiration.

Æmilia *, the wife of the first Scipio Africanus, and mother of him who had adopted the Scipio, of whom Polybius speaks in this place, had left a rich inheritance at her death to her grandson. This lady, besides diamonds, and other jewels, which form the ornaments of her sex and rank, had a great quantity of gold and silver plate used in sacrifices; a magnificent train, chariots, equipages, and a considerable number of slaves of both sexes: the whole in proportion to the wealth of the family she had married into. When she was dead, Scipio gave all the valuable things to his mother Papiria, who having been repudiated for many years by Paulus Æmilius, and not having wherewith to support the splendor of

* She was the sister of P. Æmilius.

her birth, led an obscure life, and did not appear either at the publick assemblies, or ceremonies of religion. When she was seen again with this pomp, so magnificent a liberality did Scipio abundance of honour, especially amongst the ladies, who were not silent upon the occasion, and in a city, wherein says Polybius, people were not much disposed to part with their fortunes.

He was admired no less upon another occasion. He was obliged, in consequence of the inheritance, which had fallen to him by the death of his grandmother, to pay at three different terms to the daughter of Scipio his grandfather by adoption, half their fortunes; this was to each five and twenty talents (five and twenty thousand crowns.) On the expiration of the first term, Scipio caused the whole sum to be paid into the banker's hands. Tiberius Gracchus and Scipio Nasica, who had married those two sisters, believing Scipio had made a mistake, went to him, and told him, that the law, which perhaps was unknown to him, gave him three years for paying that sum at different payments. Young Scipio replied, that he was not ignorant of what the laws allowed: that the rigor of them might be followed amongst strangers; but with relations and friends it was proper to act with more simplicity and generosity; and he desired them to consent, that the whole sum might be paid them. They left him full of admiration of their kinsman's generosity, and (a) reproaching themselves for the narrowness of their sentiments in respect to interest, though they were the principal and most esteemed persons of the city. This liberality seemed the more admirable to them, says Polybius, as at Rome, far from being willing to pay fifty thousand crowns three

(a) Κατηγορούμενοι τῆς αὐτῶν μικρολογίας.

A. R. 592. years before the expiration of the term, nobody would have consented to pay one thousand before the day prefixed.

Ant. C. 160.

It was in the same spirit, that two years after, on the death of Paulus Æmilius, he resigned to his brother Fabius, who was not so rich as he, all that should have fallen to him of his father's estate, which amounted to above sixty talents, (sixty thousand crowns) in order thereby to correct the inequality of fortune between the two brothers.

The same brother intending to exhibit a shew of gladiators after their father's death in honour of his memory, as was the custom, and not being able to defray such an expence, which rose very high, Scipio contributed fifteen talents (fifteen thousand crowns) to defray at least half of it.

The magnificent presents, which Scipio had made his mother, devolved to him with entire right after the lady's death: and his sisters, according to the custom of those times, had on pretence to them. He would have thought it a dishonour to him to have taken back his gifts. In consequence he gave all he had given his mother to his sisters, which amounted to a very considerable sum, and acquired new applauses by this new proof of his greatness of soul, and tender regard for his family.

These different gifts, which in the whole amounted to very great sums, seem to derive greater value from the age at which he bestowed them (for he was very young) and still more from the noble and obliging manners with which he knew how to accompany them: to which may be added, the character of the times wherein he lived, when the avidity of money, excited by the frantick expences of luxury, that increased every day, began to become an almost universal way

way of thinking, which was considered as necessary in some sense. A. R. 592.
Ant. C. 160.

The facts which I have just cited are so foreign to our manners, that there would be reason to apprehend they might be taken for the violent exaggeration of an historian prejudiced in favour of his hero; if every body did not know, that the prevailing character of Polybius, who relates them was a great love of truth, and an extreme remoteness from all flattery. In the passage itself, from which I have extracted this account, he has thought it necessary to use some precautions in respect to what he says of the virtuous actions and rare qualities of Scipio: and he observes, that as his writings were to be read by the Romans, who perfectly knew all things that related to that great man, he should not fail to be contradicted, if he ventured to advance any thing contrary to truth: an affront to which it is not probable an author who has any regard to his reputation would willingly expose himself.

In the midst of this decline of the Roman ^{Tubero} manners, we have seen two illustrious men shew ^{compared} extraordinary greatness of soul, but by ways quite ^{with Sci-} different; Tubero, in the moderation of a simple ^{pio Æmi-} life of poverty, embraced out of choice and taste; ^{lianur.} and Scipio Æmilianus, in a state of opulence, who distinguishes himself only by beneficence: the one by the generous contempt of riches, and the other by the wise and noble use of them. On which side is there most merit and glory? Does it require more force of mind and courage to stem the torrent of custom and example, which seems to authorize every (a) means of amassing money legitimate or not, not to be anxious in respect to

(a) Rem facias, rem: Si possis rectè; si non, quocunque modo rem. Horat.

A. R. 592.
Ant. C. 160.

the occasions of a numerous family, as Tubero's was, to despise a kind of reproach and contempt which the opinion of men attaches to poverty; than not to suffer either the head or the heart to be corrupted by the lurking poison of riches, to keep one's self free from vice and exempt from reproach with them, to know no other advantage in them but the power they afford of doing good to others; in a word, to make subservient to liberality, generosity, true magnificence, and the exercise of the greatest virtues, what is usually in a manner the natural aliment of luxury, pomp, idle expences, ridicule, esteem for one's self, and an insolent contempt for every one whatsoever, who is not rich and opulent, whatever merit they may have in other respects. This question is a fine subject for philosophers to descant upon; but it would carry us too far from the subject of our history.

I think it not improper to give a fact a place here, which, like the rest I have just related, seems to flow from the spirit of simplicity, severity, and wisdom, that antiently prevailed at Rome. Scipio Nasica, the son of him who had been adjudged the worthiest man of Rome, shewed himself not degenerate from such a father from the earliest years of his life by singular probity and innocence of manners, and still recommended himself more by his profound knowledge of law in general, and by the talent of eloquence. He made use of the latter on an important occasion, in which he had great difficulties to surmount, and in which his success shewed how much authority his virtue had given him with the People. The Censors, whose terms of office had lately expired (M. Valerius Messala, and C. Cassius Longinus) amongst other publick works, had ordered a theatre to be erected within the walls of the city, and the

*Nasica
prevails
upon the
People to
have a
theatre de-
molished
that was
almost fi-
nished.
Freinsh.
xlviii. 27.*

the edifice was in great forwardness. Before this time the citizens used to stand at the games and shews exhibited at Rome. Nafica foresaw, that the convenience of sitting at ease would much augment the ardor of the people for the shews, which was already but too great, and that the licentiousness of the theatrical pieces, in the corruption of manners, which increased every day, would not fail to infect the whole city, and obliterate in the youth all sense of probity and shame. Full of zeal for the publick good, he represented to the Senate the inconveniencies, and unhappy consequences of this new institution with so much force and warmth, that the demolition of the building was immediately resolved and executed; and the Senate passed a decree, to prohibit for the future, that any seats or benches for sitting at the representation of games should be made within the city, or nearer than at the distance of a thousand paces from it, it being their will, that the people should stand at them, in order that even (a) in the midst of their pleasures and diversions they might always retain something manly, and a vigour to indicate the Roman manners. (b) Paternus has reason to place this regulation in the number of those, which did most honour to the Roman gravity and severity, particularly in an age which had already much degenerated from the antient manners.

(a) Ut scilicet remissioni animorum juncta standi virilitas, propria Romanæ gentis nota esset. *Val. Max.* ii. 4.

(b) Cui [Cassio theatrum facienti] — omnia civitatis se-

veritas & * Consul Scipio restitere. Quod ego inter clarissima publicæ † voluntatis argumenta posuerim. *Vell. Pat.* i. 15.

* Nafica was not Consul then, his term having expired.

† This word seems an error: gravitatis would perhaps be better.

A. R. 592.
Ant. C. 160.

Before we proceed to the important wars Rome had to sustain against the Carthaginians, Achæans and Viriathus, and the Numantines in Spain, and not to be obliged to break in upon the account of them by a mixture of foreign facts, often of little consequence, I proceed first to relate some events, which passed in Rome itself, and deserve not to be omitted: I shall afterwards say something of two wars of little importance against the Dalmatians and some states of Liguria: And lastly, I shall anticipate the relation of several commotions that happened in Macedonia and join them all in the same point of view.

Affairs of R O M E.

*Decree for
banishing
the philo-
sophers and
rhetorici-
ans from
Rome.*

ALL novelties are suspected. The arts of Greece, which began principally to be introduced at Rome since the defeat of Perseus, were at first very ill received there. In the year 591, the Senate passed a decree for banishing the philosophers and rhetoricians out of the city.

*Embassy of
Carneades
to Rome.*
A. R. 597.
Ant. Hist.
Vol. IX.
and XI.

I have spoken elsewhere of the famous embassy of the Athenians, composed of three illustrious philosophers, of which Carneades was the most famous. I have said, that the severity of Cato was alarmed by the great number of Roman youth; that ran after these three great masters; and the ardor with which they collected their discourses. He took care to expedite the affair for which they came to Rome, and to have an audience of leave soon given them, "left, said he,

*Two Con-
suls abdi-
cate on ac-
count of the
defect of a
religious
form in
their elec-
tion.*

"our youth should be corrupted by the subtleties of the Greeks, and abandon the simplicity of our antient manners."

Respect for religion was carefully kept up in Rome; and I find two fine examples of it at the time of which we are speaking.

Gracchus,

Gracchus, being Consul in the 589th year for the second time, presided in the assembly for the election of Consuls for the ensuing year, who were P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, and C. Marcius Figulus. These new Consuls entered upon office, drew lots for their Provinces, and were already the one in Corsica and the other in Gaul, when Gracchus was seized with a scruple of conscience in respect to a certain ceremony he had omitted, the want of which rendered their election defective. He was then in Sardinia, and wrote to the college of Augurs to inform them of this fact: and the Augurs gave an account of it to the Senate. The affair seemed very serious, and orders were immediately dispatched to recall the two Consuls. They, who were both wise and prudent persons, obeyed with entire submission, and on their return to Rome they abdicated the Consulship, and were appointed successors. "Thus says, Cicero (a), "Gracchus chose rather to own a fault, which he "might have concealed, than to leave the Commonwealth accountable to religion for a neglect "punishable perhaps by the gods: and the Consuls made no difficulty to divest themselves immediately of the principal dignity of the State, "rather than keep it a moment contrary to the "rules of religion." The moderation of these two illustrious citizens was not suffered to hurt them; and some years after the Consulship was conferred upon them both.

We only know the other fact, which it remains for me to relate, from the epitome of the 47th book of Livy, which mentions no particulars of it. It only tells us, that Cn. Tremelius, Tribune

(a) (Gracchus) peccatum suum quod celari posset confiteri maluit, quam hæerere in Republica religionem: Con- fules summum imperium statim deponere, quam id tenere punctum temporis contra religionem.

of the People, having had a difference with M. Æmilius Lepidus, the great Pontiff, in which he had used opprobrious terms, had a fine laid upon him. Every body knows the enormous power of the Tribunes of the People, which even rendered their persons sacred and inviolable. Regard however for religion carried it against this magistracy, often terrible to the Consuls and the whole Senate.

WARS with the DALMATIANS, and some of the States of **LIGURIA.** *Affairs of* **MACEDONIA.**

The Dalmatians are subjected by Figulus and Nafica.

THE Dalmatians, who had formerly been subject to Gentius, having incommoded their neighbours by incursions, the * Liffians, who had suffered much by them, and were in alliance with the Romans, complained of them to the Senate. Ambassadors were immediately made to set out, who were ill received by the Dalmatians. War having in consequence been declared, two Consuls were successively sent against those people. The first was C. Marcius Figulus, then Consul for the second time, who made such a progress, that his successor Scipio Nafica, to whom a second Consulship had been also given, had only to besiege Delminium the capital of the country, in order to terminate the war. He took that city, and demolished it: and it never was rebuilt afterwards. It is at this time only a very mean town, that still retains the same name, *Delminio* upon the Drin in *CornNep. Bosnia*. What is most worthy of observation in all this war, in other respects but of little impor-

* One of the principal cities of the Liffians was Tragurium; now called Trau in Dalmatia.

tance,

tance, is the victor's modesty, who refused the title of *Imperator*, which his soldiers gave him with acclamations, and made great difficulties to accept the triumph decreed him by the Senate. He did himself justice, for his actions were not very considerable. But who is it that does justice on the like occasions?

The year following the Romans for the first A.R. 598. time passed the Alps in arms, but not to make war *The Massili are now against the Gauls, but against some people of Liguria by origin, though settled in the Gauls.* Polybius calls them Oxybians and Deceates: they *revenge by the Romans upon the Oxybians, and Deceates.* inhabited beyond the Var, along the sea-coasts, in the neighbourhood of the cities Nice Antibes, and * Frejus. Those Barbarians attacked Nice and Antibes, colonies of the Massilienses, and rendered themselves formidable to Massilia itself. (*bod. Marseilles.*) An embassy sent by the Senate of Rome upon the complaint of the Massilienses, was no better received by the Ligurians, than that of which we have spoken, had been by the Dalmatians. In consequence it was necessary for the Consul Q. Opimius to march against them with an army, in order to reduce them to reason. The enterprize was not difficult to the Roman power, Opimius besieged the city, where the Ambassadors had been insulted, took it by storm, made the inhabitants slaves, and sent the principal authors of the insult in chains to Rome, to suffer the punishment their crime deserved. The Ligurians were more than once defeated and cut to pieces. The Consul, to secure the tranquillity of the Massilienses, gave them part of the conquered countries, and ordered that for the future those Barba-

* Frejus was not yet in being, at least as a Roman colony, and with the name of Forum Julii. But I thought it necessary to determine the country of which I speak.

rians should send hostages to Massilia to be changed from time to time.

I come now to what regards Macedonia.

Andriscus, who gave himself out for the son of Perseus, possesses himself of Macedonia, and is at length defeated, taken, and sent to Rome. Freinshem xlix, l. A.R. 600.

Fifteen or sixteen years after the defeat and death of Perseus, one Andriscus of Adramyttium, a city of Mysia in Asia Minor, a man of the meanest birth, gave himself out for the son of Perseus, assumed the name of Philip, and entered Macedonia, in hopes to cause himself to be acknowledged King by the inhabitants of the country. He had invented a story concerning his birth, which he gave out every where, pretending that he was the son of a concubine of Perseus. He had flattered himself that he should be believed on his own word, and that he should occasion great movements in Macedonia in his favour. When he found that every thing remained quiet there, he retired into Syria to the court of Demetrius Soter, whose sister had married Perseus. That Prince, who immediately knew the impostor, caused him to be seized, and sent him to Rome, in hopes, by that service, to acquire the protection of the Romans, for which at that time he had particular occasion.

The Romans had little regard to that impostor, who seemed to them to merit only contempt, so that small care was taken to guard or keep him in close confinement. He took advantage of the negligence of his keepers, and made his escape from Rome. Having found means to raise a considerable army amongst the Thracians, whom he had the address to bring into his views, he made himself master of Macedonia either by consent or force, and assumed the marks of Sovereignty.

SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS,

C. CALPURNIUS PISO.

A. R. 604.

Ant. C. 148.

Andriscus, a man of nothing, who had been brought up, and lived hitherto in low life, and who just before had neither land nor fortune, encouraged by the rapidity of his first success, finding Macedonia too narrow for him, attacked Thessaly, and subjected a part of it to his power.

The affair then began to appear more serious to the Romans. They appointed Scipio Nasica to go in quality of Ambassador, or Commissioner to put a stop to this defection in its birth, judging him highly fit for that employment. And indeed, he was perfectly master of the art of giving the necessary bent of mind, and of bringing people into his views by persuasion; and in case it was necessary to employ arms, he was very capable of forming a design with wisdom, and of executing it with valour. As soon as he arrived in Greece, and was perfectly informed in the affairs of Macedonia, he gave the Senate advice of them, and without loss of time, made a tour through the cities of the allies, in order immediately to raise troops for the defence of Thessaly. The Achaians, who were still the most powerful people of Greece, supplied him with the greatest number, without regard to their past discontents. He soon deprived the false Philip of all the cities he had taken in Thessaly, drove out his garrisons, and repulsed himself into Macedonia.

However upon Scipio's letters it was soon seen at Rome, that it was necessary to delay no longer sending a General with forces against this enemy. The Prætor P. Juventius Thalna had orders to pass the sea as soon as possible with an army. He set

set out directly. But considering Andriscus as only a mock King, he did not conceive it necessary to take any great precautions against him, and he rashly engaged in a battle, wherein he lost his life with part of his army: the rest escaped only by favour of the night.

The victor, flushed by this good success, and believing his power firmly established, abandoned himself to his vicious inclinations with neither moderation nor reserve, as if to be really a King, was to know no other law nor rule but his passions and caprice. He was covetous, proud, and cruel. Nothing was seen on all sides but oppressions, confiscations of estates, and murders. Taking advantage of the terror occasioned by the defeat of the Romans, he soon recovered all he had lost in Thessaly. An embassy which the Carthaginians, then actually attacked by the Romans, sent him with the promise of speedy support, extremely exalted his courage.

A.R. 605. Q. Cæcilius Metellus, lately elected Prætor, had succeeded Juventius, and was already near the enemy. Andriscus had resolved to advance to meet him: but he thought it necessary not to remove far from the sea, and stopt at Pydna, where he fortified his camp. The Roman Prætor soon followed him thither. The two armies were in sight of each other, and skirmishes passed every day. Andriscus gained a considerable advantage in a small engagement of the horse. Success usually blinds men of little experience, and becomes fatal to them. Andriscus, believing himself superior to the Romans, detached a great body of his troops to defend his conquests in Thessaly. This was a gross error; and Metellus, who let nothing escape him, did not fail to take advantage of it. The army that remained in Macedonia was defeated, and

and Andriſcus reduced to fly. He took refuge amongſt the Thracians, from whence he ſoon returned with a new army. He had the raſhneſs to venture a ſecond battle, which proved as unfortunate for him as the firſt. In both he loſt above five and twenty thouſand men.

Nothing was wanting to compleat the glory of the Roman General except ſeizing Andriſcus, who had taken refuge with a petty King of Thrace, to whoſe fidelity he abandoned himſelf. But the Thracians did not pique themſelves much upon faith, and made it give place to their intereſt. This prince put his gueſt into the hands of Metellus, to avoid drawing upon him the anger and arms of the Romans. He was ſent to Rome.

Another adventurer, who alſo called himſelf the ſon of Perſeus by the aſſumed name of Alexander, had the ſame fate as the firſt, except that Metellus could not take him: he retired into Dardania where he kept himſelf concealed.

*Two new
impoſtors
riſe up in
Macedo-
nia, and
are de-
feated.
Frein-
them.*

It was at this time that Macedonia, which had made ſo bad an uſe of the liberty granted it by the Romans, was reduced into a province, that is, treated like a conquered country.

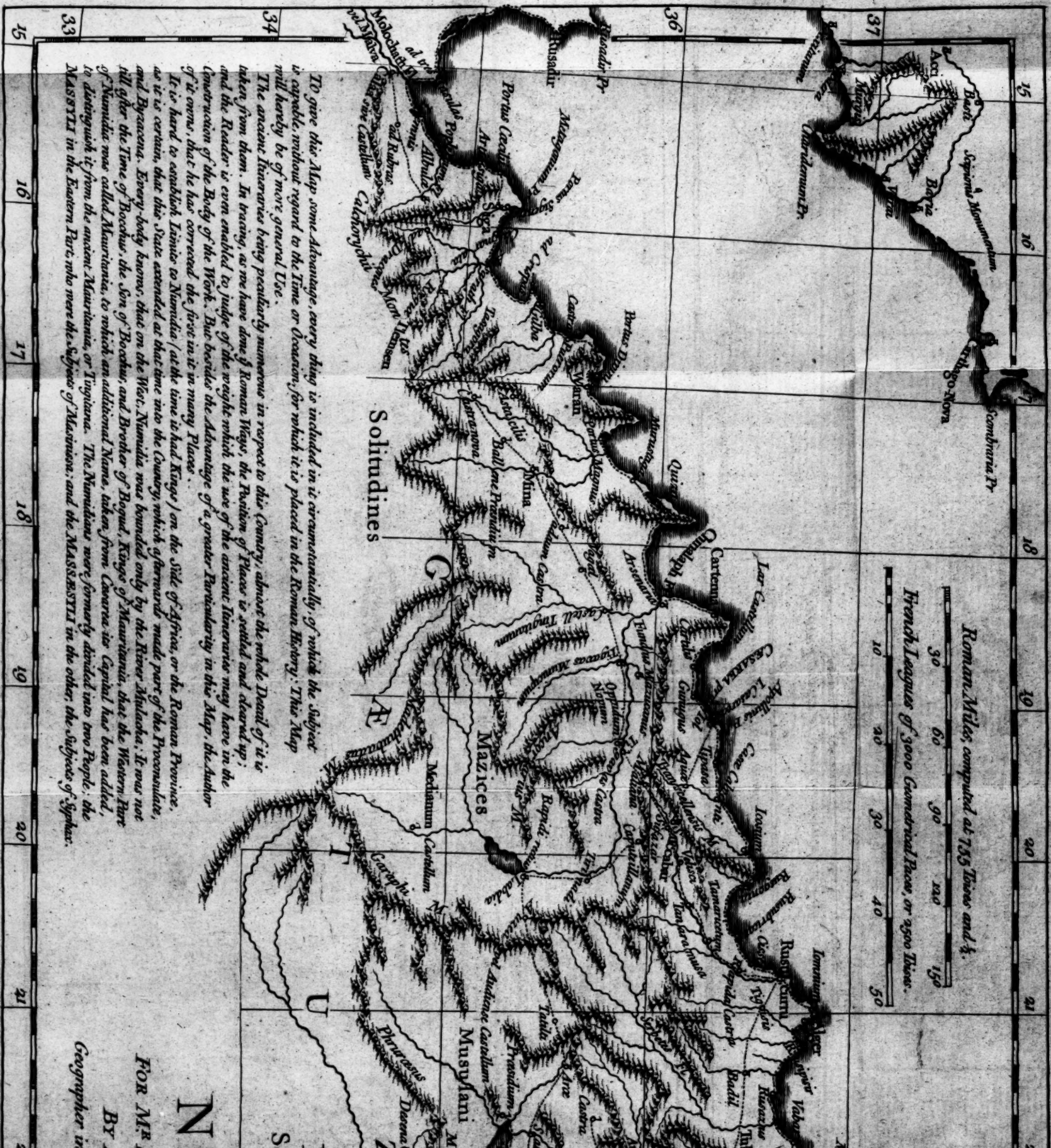
A third impoſtor appeared ſome years after, and gave himſelf out for the ſon of Perſeus under the name of Philip. His pretended title was but of ſhort duration. He was defeated and killed in Macedonia by Tremellius, who on that occaſion received the ſurname of *Scrofa*, becauſe in encouraging his ſoldiers, he had aſſured them, that he would deſperſe the enemy, *ut Scrofa porcos.*

A.R. 610.

S E C T. III.

THIRD PUNIC WAR.

Origin and occasion of the third Punic war. Rome shows little favour to the Carthaginians in their differences with Masinissa. War between Masinissa and the Carthaginians. Great anxiety and fear of the Carthaginians in respect to the Romans. Rome deliberates, whether war shall be declared against Carthage. It is resolved. Alarm of the Carthaginians. They send Deputies to Rome. Hard conditions proposed to them. They accept them. They send three hundred of their principal citizens as hostages. They deliver up all their arms. They are at length told that they must quit Carthage, which will be demolished. Grief and horror of the Deputies. Despair and fury of Carthage, when that news is made publick there. Reflexion upon the conduct of the Romans. Generous efforts of Carthage to prepare for the siege. Invocation of the tutelar gods of Carthage to quit it, and the form of devoting that city. Carthage besieged by the two Consuls. Scipio distinguishes himself above all the other officers. Death of Masinissa. The new Consul continues the siege with great languor. Scipio, who stands only for the *Ædileship*, is elected Consul, and charged with the war of Africa. He arrives in Africa and delivers Mancinus from great danger. He re-establishes discipline amongst the troops. He carries on the siege with vigour. Description of Carthage. Asdrubal's barbarous cruelty. Sea-fight. Scipio, during the winter, attacks and takes Nepheris, a place in the neighbourhood of Carthage. The siege continued. The city at length surrenders. Asdrubal also surrenders. His wife kills



To give this Map some Advantage, every thing is included in it circumstantially, of which the Subject is capable, without regard to the Time or Occasion, for which it is placed in the Roman History: This Map will hereby be of more general Use.

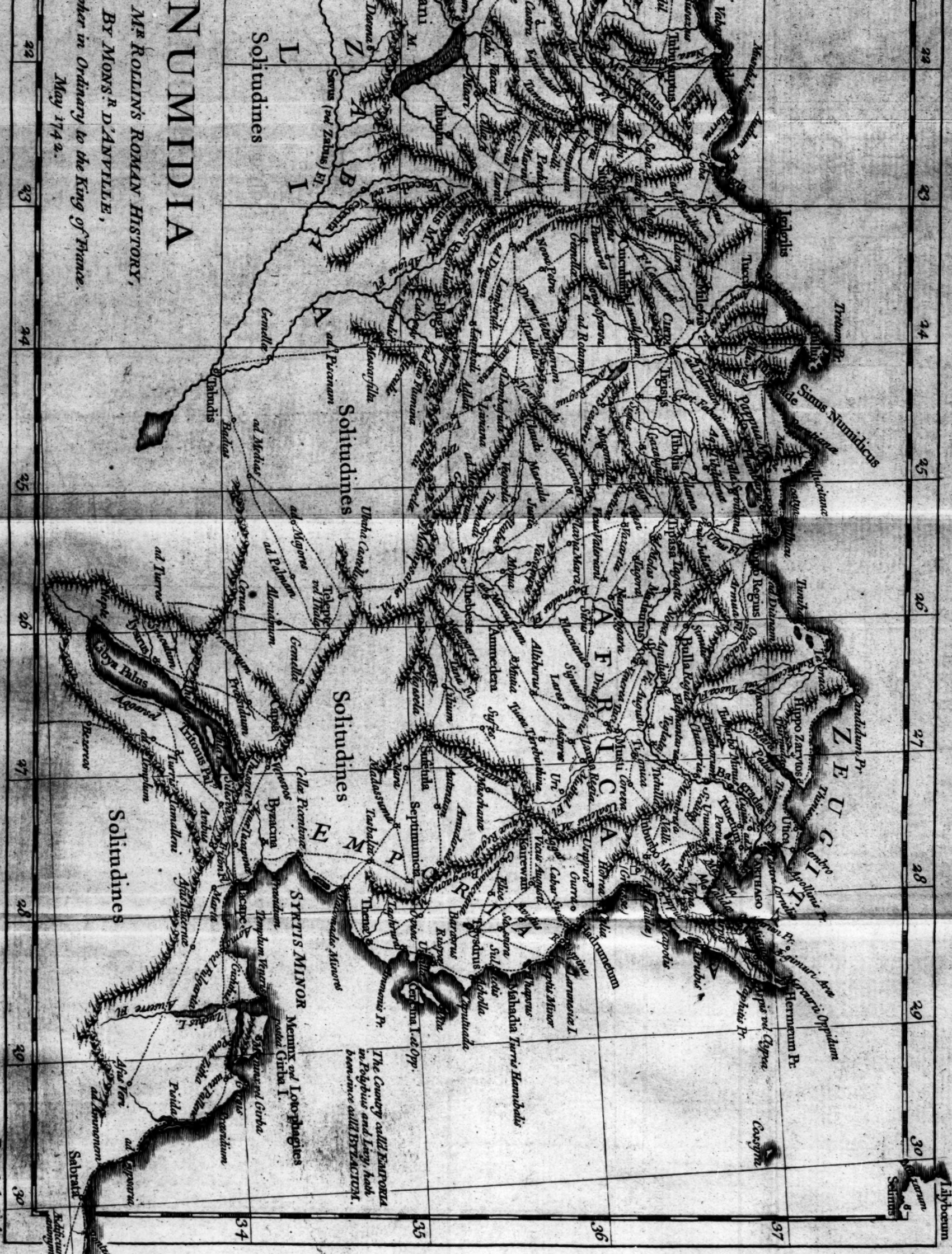
The ancient Itineraries being peculiarly numerous in respect to this Country, almost the whole Detail of it is taken from them. In tracing, as we have done of Roman Ways, the Position of Places is settled and cleared up; and the Reader is even enabled to judge of the weight which the use of the ancient Itineraries may have in the construction of the Body of the Work. But besides the Advantage of a greater Particularity in this Map, the Author of it owns, that he has corrected the first in it in many Places.

It is hard to establish Limits to Numidia (at the time it had Kings) on the Side of Africa, or the Roman Province, as it is certain, that this State extended at that time into the Country, which afterwards made part of the Proconsulate, and Byzacena. Every body knows, that on the West, Numidia was bounded only by the River Atalacha; It was not till after the Time of Boetius, the Son of Boetius, and Brother of Boetius, Kings of Mauritania, that the Western Part of Numidia was called Mauritania, to which an additional Name, taken from Caesar's Capital has been added, to distinguish it from the ancient Mauritania, or Tingitana. The Numidians were formerly divided into two People, the MASSYLI in the Eastern Part, who were the Subjects of Massinissa; and the MASSYLI in the other, the Subjects of Syphax.

FOR MR.
BY
Geographer in

NUMIDIA

MR ROLLIN'S ROMAN HISTORY,
 BY MONS^R D'ANVILLE,
 Chief in Ordinary to the King of France.
 May 1742.



R.W. Sculp.

kills her children, and throws herself with them into the flames. Scipio's compassion on seeing the ruin of Carthage. Noble use which he makes of the spoils of that city. Joy which the news of the taking of Carthage occasions at Rome. Ten Commissioners sent into Africa. Destruction of Carthage. Scipio returns to Rome, and receives the honour of a triumph. Carthage re-established.

THE third Punic war, less considerable than the two former in the number and greatness of battles, and its duration which was but of four years, was much more so by its success and event, as it terminated in the total destruction of Carthage. *Origin and occasion of the third Punic war.*

That city, after her last defeat, and the treaty of peace consequential of it, rightly perceived what she had to fear from the Romans, in whom she always observed much ill will, whenever she applied to them in her differences with Masinissa. *Rome shews herself little favourable to Carthage in her differences with Masinissa.*

In the preceding books I have related several Deputations sent from both sides, and several Commissions appointed by the Romans, who sent Senators to take cognizance of those disputes upon the spot, and to terminate them, without their ever passing any definitive sentence. It is evident, that Rome was not at all inclined either to satisfy the Carthaginians, or to do them justice, and that the quarrel was purposely spun out, to give Masinissa time to strengthen himself in his usurpations, and to weaken the enemy. *Polyb. Lib. 1. 18.*

Upon new complaints made by the Carthaginians, a deputation was decreed at Rome to make farther enquiries upon the spot. Cato was in the number of the Commissioners. When they arrived, they asked the contending parties, whether they would abide by their arbitration. Masinissa readily

dily consented. The Carthaginians replied, that they had a rule settled, to which they adhered, which was the treaty concluded by Scipio, and demanded to be tried without favour. This answer was a pretext to the Deputies for deciding nothing. They visited the whole country, which they found in a very good condition, especially the city of Carthage : and they were surprized to find it almost re-established in the same degree of greatness and power, as it was before its last defeat. On their return they did not fail to give the Senate an account of this, declaring, that Rome would never be safe as long as Carthage should subsist.

From thenceforth the Senators were extremely exasperated against Carthage : and if the war was not declared till a considerable length of time after, it is to be believed, that occasion and pretexts were rather wanting on the side of the Romans, than will. Masinissa found them a plausible motive both for attacking Carthage, and the promise of an easy victory. The thing happened as follows :

War between the Carthaginians and Masinissa.

A division had taken place in Carthage, and the Numidian King had a powerful party there. The zealous Republicans having found a favourable opportunity, drove the heads of this party, to the number of forty, out of the city, and made the people take an oath that they would never suffer the recalling of the exiles to be proposed. They retired to Masinissa, who sent two of his sons, Gulussa and Micipsa, to sollicit their re-establishment. The gates of the city were shut against them, and Gulussa, was even warmly pursued by Amilcar one of the Generals of the Republick. This was a new subject of war : armies were raised on both sides and a battle fought. This was in the Consulship of Quintius and Acilius.

T. QUIN-

T. QUINTIUS FLAMININUS.

M. ACILIUS BALBUS.

A. R. 607.
Ant. C. 150.

Scipio the younger, who afterwards ruined Carthage, was a spectator of this battle. He was come to Masinissa from Lucullus, who was making war in Spain, and under whom he served, to ask some elephants of him. During the whole battle he kept upon the top of an hill very near the place where it was fought. He was astonished to see Masinissa, then above fourscore years old, mounted on horseback without a saddle, according to the custom of the country, giving orders, and sustaining the rudest fatigues like a young officer. The battle was very obstinate, and continued from morning till night: but at length the Carthaginians gave way. Scipio afterwards said, that he had been present in many battles, but that none had given him so much pleasure as this, in which quiet and in cold blood he had seen above an hundred thousand men engage, and long dispute the victory. And as he had well read in Homer, he added, that before him only Jupiter and Neptune had enjoyed such a fight; when one from the top of mount Ida, and the other from the highest eminence in Samothracia, had the pleasure of seeing a battle between the Greeks and Trojans. I cannot tell, whether the sight of an hundred thousand men cutting one another's throats gives a very sensible pleasure, or whether such a delight can subsist with the sense of humanity natural to us.

Hom. Il.
viii. 51.
& xiii. 12.

The Carthaginians after the battle desired Scipio Appian to terminate their disputes with Masinissa. He heard both sides. The first consented to cede the territory of Emporia, which had been the first subject of the quarrel, to pay down two hundred talents

He P. 40.

A. R. 662.
Ant. C. 150.

talents of silver, and to add to them eight hundred more at different terms as should be agreed on. But Masinissa demanded the re-establishment of the exiles, the Carthaginians not being willing to hear that proposal, they separated without concluding any thing. Scipio, after having paid his compliments, and thanks to Masinissa, set out with the elephants he came for.

Ibid.

The King, after the battle, kept the enemy's camp invested upon an hill, where they could receive neither provisions nor reinforcement. At this juncture arrived Deputies from Rome. They were ordered, in case Masinissa, was worsted, to terminate the affair; otherwise to decide nothing, and to give the King great hopes; and they followed the latter part of their instructions. In the mean time the famine increased every day in the camp of the Carthaginians, and to increase their misfortune the plague joined it, and made terrible havock. Reduced to the last extremity, they surrendered themselves, upon engaging to deliver up the deserters to Masinissa, to pay him five thousand talents of silver in the space of fifty years, and reinstate the exiles notwithstanding the oath they had taken to the contrary. They were all made to pass under the yoke, and dismissed each with only a single habit. Gulussa, to revenge the bad treatment he had received, as we have said above, detached a body of cavalry, after them, whose attacks they could neither avoid nor sustain, in their present disarmed condition. Thus of fifty-eight thousand men very few returned to Carthage.

About
seven
hundred
and fifty
thousand
pounds.

Great an-
xiety and
fear of the
Cartha-
ginians in
respect to
the Ro-
mans.

So considerable a defeat gave a great alarm there. They particularly apprehended, that the Romans, under pretext, that the Carthaginians, contrary to the conditions of the treaty, had taken arms against a King in alliance with Rome, should declare war against them: for they could not doubt the

the ill-will of the Roman Senate in respect to them. To prevent the effect of it, the Carthaginians declared by a decree of the Senate, Asdrubal and Cartholon, one of whom had been General of the army, and the other had * commanded the auxiliary troops, guilty of treason, as being the authors of the war with the King of Numidia. They then sent deputies to Rome, to know what people thought and expected there from them. They were answered coldly, that it was for the Senate and People of Carthage to consider what satisfaction was due to the Romans. Not being able to get any other answer or explanation by a second embassy, they conceived great anxiety; and in extreme terror from the remembrance of past evils, they already thought they saw the enemy at their gates, and represented to themselves all the direful effects of a long siege, and of a city taken by storm.

A. R. 602.
Ant. C. 150.

In the mean time the Senate of Rome deliberated upon the resolution the Commonwealth should take; and the disputes between Cato and Scipio Nasica, who thought quite differently upon that subject, were renewed. The first, on his return from Africa, had already represented in the strongest terms, that he had found Carthage, not in the condition the Romans believed it, exhausted of men and riches, weak and reduced; but on the contrary abounding with youth, with immense quantities of gold and silver, prodigious stores of all kinds of arms, and all the necessaries of war; and so proud and full of confidence with all these great preparations, that there was nothing so great, at which their hopes and ambition did not aspire.

*Rome de-
liberates
upon declar-
ing war
against
Carthage.
Plut. in
vit. Caton.
p. 352.*

* The foreign troops had subordinate to a Carthaginian commanders of their respective officer, called by Appian, *Bon-
nations*, all of whom were *Sagxos*.

A. R. 632.
Ant. C. 150.

talents of silver, and to add to them eight hundred more at different terms as should be agreed on. But Masinissa demanded the re-establishment of the exiles, the Carthaginians not being willing to hear that proposal, they separated without concluding any thing. Scipio, after having paid his compliments, and thanks to Masinissa, set out with the elephants he came for.

Ibid.

The King, after the battle, kept the enemy's camp invested upon an hill, where they could receive neither provisions nor reinforcement. At this juncture arrived Deputies from Rome. They were ordered, in case Masinissa, was worsted, to terminate the affair; otherwise to decide nothing, and to give the King great hopes; and they followed the latter part of their instructions. In the mean time the famine increased every day in the camp of the Carthaginians, and to increase their misfortune the plague joined it, and made terrible havock. Reduced to the last extremity, they surrendered themselves, upon engaging to deliver up the deserters to Masinissa, to pay him five thousand talents of silver in the space of fifty years, and reinstate the exiles notwithstanding the oath they had taken to the contrary. They were all made to pass under the yoke, and dismissed each with only a single habit. Gulussa, to revenge the bad treatment he had received, as we have said above, detached a body of cavalry, after them, whose attacks they could neither avoid nor sustain, in their present disarmed condition. Thus of fifty-eight thousand men very few returned to Carthage.

About
seven
hundred
and fifty
thousand
pounds.

Great anxiety and fear of the Carthaginians in respect to the Romans.

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*Rome de-
liberates
upon decla-
ring war
against
Carthage.
Plut. in
vit. Caton.
p. 352.*

* The foreign troops had subordinate to a Carthaginian commanders of their respective officer, called by Appian, *Βοη-
nationes*, all of whom were *Σαρχοι*.

A. R. 602.
Ant. C. 150.

Plin. xv.
18.

Plut. *ibid.*

It is said, that after having held this discourse, he even threw figs of Africa, which he had in his breast, into the midst of the Senate, and that, on the Senators admiring their beauty and bigness, he told them: *It is but three days since those figs were gathered. And that is the distance between us and the enemy.* And afterwards, upon any affairs being deliberated upon in the Senate, Cato always added; *And I further conclude, that Carthage must be destroyed.* Nasica, on the contrary, was for suffering it to subsist.

Both had their reasons to think as they did. Nasica, seeing that the people's insolence rose to such an height, as to make them commit all manner of excesses; that swelled with pride in effect of their victories, they could no longer be kept within bounds by the Senate itself, and that their power had attained to such an height, that it was capable of forcing the Commonwealth into all the measures, they should think fit to espouse: Nasica, I say, in this situation, was for leaving them the fear of Carthage as a curb, to moderate and check their audacity. For he thought, that the Carthaginians were too weak to subdue the Romans, and that they were also too strong to be despised by them. Cato on his side judged, that for a people, become proud and insolent from prosperity, and whom unbounded licentiousness precipitated into all kinds of disorders, there was nothing more dangerous, than to leave them a State for a rival and enemy, hitherto always powerful, but from its misfortunes themselves become wiser, and more cautious than ever, and not entirely to remove from them all cause of fear from without, when they had all possible means within of hurrying on to the last excesses.

Laying

Laying aside the laws of equity for a moment, I leave the Reader to determine, which of these two great men judged most justly according to the rules of good policy and with respect to the interest of the State. Certain it is, as (a) all Historians have observed, that after the destruction of Carthage the change of conduct and government was evident at Rome: that vice no longer crept into it with fear, and in a manner by stealth, but barefaced and erect, and with surprizing rapidity possessed all orders of the Commonwealth: and that people abandoned themselves without reserve or bounds to luxury and pleasures, which did not fail, as that is inevitable, to draw on the ruin of the State. "The (b) first Scipio, says Pat-
"terculus, speaking of the Romans, had laid the
"foundations of their future greatness; the latter,
"by his conquests, opened the way for all kinds
"of vice and disorders. From the time that
"Carthage, which kept Rome in play by dis-
"puting empire with her, was entirely destroyed,
"her manners declined no longer slowly and
"by degrees, but suddenly and with precipita-
"tion."

A. R. 602.
Ant. C. 150.
Ant. C. 148.

(a) Ubi Carthago, æmula imperii Romani, ab stirpe interiiit — fortuna sævire ac miscere omnia cœpit. *Sallust. in bell. Catil.*

Ante Carthaginem deletam, populus & Senatus Rom. placide modesteque inter se remp. tractabant. — Metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed ubi formido illa mentibus decessit, illicet ea

quæ secundæ res amant, lascivia, atque suberbia incessere. *Id. in bell. Jugurth.*

(b) Potentiæ Romanorum prior Scipio viam aperuerat, luxuriæ posterior aperuit. Quippe remoto Carthaginis metu, sublataque imperii æmula, non gradu, sed præcipiti cursu à virtute descitum ad vitia transcursum. *Vell. Paterc. ii.*

1.

A. R. 603.
Ant. C. 149.

L. MARCIUS CENSORINUS.

M. MANILIUS.

*Rome re-
solves to
declare
war a-
gainst the
Carthagi-
nians.
App. p. 42.*

However that were, it was resolved in the Senate to declare war against the Carthaginians; and the reasons, or pretexts given for it, were, that contrary to the tenor of the treaty they had kept ships, and marched an army out of their territories against a Prince in alliance with Rome, whose son they had treated with violence, at the time he had a Roman Ambassador with him.

*Three
leagues.*

An entirely lucky event, which happened whilst the affair of Carthage was in deliberation, no doubt contributed much to the taking of this resolution. This was the arrival of Deputies from Utica, who came to put their persons, fortunes, lands, and city into the hands of the Romans. Nothing could have fallen out more opportunely. Utica was the second city of Africa, was very rich, and had a port equally spacious and commodious, which was but sixty *stadia* from Carthage, and might serve as a place of arms for attacking it. The Senate then hesitated no longer, and the war was declared in all the forms. The two Consuls were pressed to set out with all possible expedition, and secret orders were given them not to terminate the war without the destruction of Carthage. They departed immediately, and stopped at Lilybæum in Sicily. The fleet was considerable, and had on board it fourscore thousand foot, and about four thousand horse.

*Alarm of
the Car-
thaginians.
They send
Deputies to
Rome.
Polyb.
Excerpt.
Legat.
972.*

Carthage did not yet know what had been resolved at Rome. The answer the Deputies had brought back from thence, had only served to augment her trouble and anxiety. They had been told, that it was for the Carthaginians to consider, in what manner they could satisfy the Romans.

mans. They knew not how to act. At length they sent new Deputies; but with full powers to do all they should judge necessary, and even, in case circumstances seemed to require it, to declare, that the Carthaginians abandoned themselves and all they possessed to the discretion of the Romans. This, according to the force of the words, *se suaque eorum arbitrio permittere*, was making them absolute masters of their fate, and to confess themselves their vassals. They had never been capable in the former wars to resolve upon so mortifying a step: and however they expected no great success from it, because the people of Utica having been before hand with them in doing the same, had deprived them of the merit of an early and voluntary submission.

A. R. 603.
Ant. C. 149.

On arriving at Rome, the Deputies were informed, that the war was declared and the army set out. They had therefore no time to deliberate, and surrendered their persons and all they possessed to the Romans. In consequence of this measure, they were answered, that because they had at length taken the right resolution, the Senate granted them liberty, the exercise of their own laws, all their territories, and all their other possessions, either as private persons or as a Republick; on condition, that in three days they should send three hundred hostages of the principal youth of their city to Lilybæum, and do what the Consuls should order them. Those last words gave them extreme anxiety: but the trouble they were in, made them incapable either of replying, or asking any explanation; and it had been to no manner of purpose. They therefore set out for Carthage, and gave an account of their commission.

Hard conditions proposed to the Carthaginians. They accept them.

All the articles of the treaty were grating: but the silence kept in respect to the cities, of which

Ibid.

A. R. 603.
Ant. C. 149.

no mention was made amongst the things Rome consented to leave them, gave them extreme disquiet. However nothing remained for them to do, but to obey. After their antient and recent losses, they were not in a condition to make head against such an enemy, who had not been able to resist Masinissa. Troops, provisions, ships, allies, were all wanting; and hope and courage more.

*They send
three hun-
dred of
their prin-
cipal citi-
zens as
hostages.*

They did not think it proper to wait the expiration of the term of thirty days, which had been granted them; but to soften the enemy by the promptitude of their obedience, though they however could not flatter themselves with that effect, they made the hostages set out immediately. These were the flower and hope of the most noble families of Carthage. Never was sight more affecting. Nothing was heard but mournful cries, nor seen but tears. The whole city resounded with groans and lamentations. The mothers in particular, bathed in tears, tore their hair, beat their breasts, and in a manner frantick with grief and despair raised cries capable of moving the hardest hearts. It was still quite another thing at the fatal moment of separation, when having accompanied them to the ships, they took their last leaves, not expecting ever to see them more, bathed them with their tears, never gave over embracing them, and pressed them in their arms without being able to consent to their departure, so that it was necessary to pull them away by force, which was more cruel to them than if their bowels had been torn out of their bodies. When they arrived in Sicily, the hostages were sent forwards to Rome, and the Consuls told the Deputies, that when they were at Utica, they would let them know the orders of the Commonwealth.

In the like conjunctures there is nothing more cruel than a terrible uncertainty, that without shewing any thing in particular, leaves all that can be apprehended obvious and impending, As soon as it was known, that the fleet was arrived at Utica, the Deputies repaired to the camp of the Romans, declaring, that they were come in the name of the State to receive their orders, which they were ready to obey in all things. The Consul Censorinus, who spoke, after having praised their good disposition and obedience, ordered them to deliver up to him without fraud or delay all their arms in general. They consented to this; but they desired them to reflect on the condition to which he reduced them, at a time, when Asdrubal, who was become their enemy only on account of their entire submission to the Romans, was almost at their gates with an army of twenty thousand men. They were answered, that Rome would provide for that.

A. R. 603.
Ant. C. 149.
They deliver up all their arms.
Polyb. p. 375.
App. p. 44—46.

This order was executed immediately. A long train of carriges arrived in the camp, laden with all the preparations of war, that were in Carthage: two hundred thousand compleat suits of armour, an infinite number of spears and javelins, and two thousand machines for discharging stones and darts. The Deputies of Carthage followed, accompanied by the most venerable old men of the Senate and Priests of the gods, to endeavour to excite the Romans to compassion at this critical moment, when their sentence was going to be passed, and their final doom determined. The Consul rose up for a moment on their arrival with some expressions of kindness and humanity; then suddenly resuming a grave and severe air, he said: “ I cannot but approve your readiness in executing the orders of the Senate. It has instructed me to declare to you, that its last pleasure

They are at last told, that they must quit Carthage, which is to be destroyed.

A. R. 603. " is, that you should quit Carthage, which it has
 Ant. C. 149. " resolved to destroy; and that you remove your
 " abode to whatever part of your territory you
 Fear " shall think fit, provided it be fourscore *stadia*
 leagues. " from the sea."

*Excessive
 grief of the
 Deputies.
 App. P.
 46—53.*

When the Consul had pronounced this terrible decree, nothing was heard but a lamentable cry amongst the Carthaginians. They were thunder-struck in a manner, and neither knew where they were, nor what they did. They rowled themselves in the dust, tearing their cloaths, and venting nothing but groans and sobs. After having recovered themselves a little, they extended their hands sometimes towards the gods, and sometimes towards the Romans, imploring their mercy and justice to a people upon the point of being reduced to despair. But as they were entirely deaf to their prayers, they soon changed them into reproaches and imprecations, putting them in mind, that there were gods, who were the avengers, as well as witnesses, of crimes and perfidy. The Romans could not refrain from tears at so moving a sight; but their resolution was taken. The Deputies could not even prevail, that the execution of the order should be suspended, till they had applied again to the Roman Senate, in order to endeavour to have it revoked. They were obliged to set out, and carry the answer to Carthage.

*Despair
 and fury of
 Carthage
 in receiv-
 ing this
 news.
 App. P.
 53, 54.*

They were expected there with an impatience and dread not to be expressed. They had much difficulty to break through the throng that pressed around them to know the answer, which it was but too easy to read in their looks. When they arrived in the Senate, and had related the cruel order they had received, a general cry informed the people of their fate: and from that instant nothing was heard throughout the whole city but howling, despair, rage, and fury.

Let

Let us stop here a moment to consider a little the conduct of the Romans. I cannot sufficiently regret, that the fragment of Polybius, in which this deputation is related, ends exactly in the most affecting part of his history; and I should set a much higher value on a short reflection of so judicious an author, than the long harangues, which Appian puts into the mouths of the Deputies, and of the Consul. Now I cannot believe, that Polybius, full of good sense, reason, and equity as he was, could on the occasion in question have approved the proceeding of the Romans. We do not, in my opinion, see their antient character in it: that greatness of soul, dignity, integrity, and declared abhorrence of mean stratagem, disguise, and imposture, that are not, as is somewhere said, of the Roman genius: *Minime Romanis artibus*. Why were not the Carthaginians attacked with open force? Why was it declared to them expressly by a treaty, which is a sacred thing, that liberty and the free exercise of their laws were granted them, and conditions understood, that entirely subvert both? Why, under the shameful suppression of the word *city* in this treaty, is the perfidious design of destroying Carthage concealed, as if under the shadow of that equivocation they might do it with justice? And lastly, wherefore is not the last declaration made them till after they have at different times taken from them their hostages and arms, that is, after having put it absolutely out of their power to refuse them any thing? Is it not manifest, that Carthage, after so many defeats, all weakened and exhausted as she is, still makes the Romans tremble, and that they do not believe it in their power to subdue her by force of arms? It is very dangerous to have power enough to commit injustice with impunity, and even to hope great advantages from it. The example of all empires

A. R. 603.
Ant. C. 149.
*Reflexion
upon the
conduct of
the Ro-
mans.*

A. R. 603. empires shews us, that they seldom fail to act thus
 Ant. C. 149. when they believe it for their interest.

Polyb. The great praise, which Polybius gives the
 l. xiii. p. Achaians, differs much from what we see in this
 671, 672. place. Those States, says he, far from employ-
 ing stratagem and deceit with their allies for aug-
 menting their power, did not even believe, that it
 was allowable to use them against their enemies,
 and deemed That only a solid and glorious vic-
 tory which they gained sword in hand by cou-
 rage and bravery. He owns in the same place,
 that only faint traces of the antient generosity of
 their forefathers still remained amongst the Ro-
 mans; and he thinks himself obliged, says he, to
 make this remark, contrary to a principle become
 very common in his time, amongst persons in the
 administration of governments, that it is impossi-
 ble to succeed in publick affairs, whether of war
 or peace, without sometimes employing fraud
 and deceit.

*Generous
 efforts of
 Carthage
 in prepar-
 ing for the
 siege.*

App. 55.
 Strab.
 l. xvii.
 p. 833.

I return to my subject. The Consuls did not
 make haste to march against the Carthaginians,
 not imagining, that they had any thing to fear
 from a city disarmed. They took advantage of
 this delay to put themselves into a posture of de-
 fence: for it was unanimously resolved not to a-
 bandon the city. Asdrubal, who was at the head
 of twenty thousand men, was elected General
 without the walls, and Deputies were sent to him
 to desire him, in favour of his country, to forget
 the injustice done him through fear of the Ro-
 mans. The command of the troops in the city
 were given to another Asdrubal, the grandson of
 Masinissa. Arms were then made with incredible
 expedition. The Temples, palaces, and publick
 places were changed into so many workshops.
 Men and women worked on them night and day.
 An hundred and forty shields, three hundred
 swords,

swords, five hundred pikes and javelins, a thousand arrows, and a great number of machines for discharging them, were made every day; and because materials were wanting to make cords, the women cut off their hair, which was an abundant supply.

A. R. 603.
Ant. C. 149.

Masinissa was discontented, that the Romans, after he had extremely weakened the power of the Carthaginians, came to take the advantage of his victory, without so much as imparting to him their design in any manner; which occasioned some coldness between them.

App p. 55.

The Consuls however advanced towards the city to besiege it. It is to be believed, that the two ceremonies, of invoking the tutelary gods of Carthage to quit it, and of devoting that city, were then performed. Macrobius informs us, that it was an antient custom amongst the Romans, but that it was kept very secret, when they besieged an enemy's city, to call out the gods who resided in it; whether they believed, that they could not take the city without doing so, or, that it seemed impious to them to make the gods prisoners. They had a form for this evocation, and another which they afterwards used for devoting the same city to the infernal gods. Macrobius, who has preserved these two forms, affirms, that they were used in respect to Carthage. I proceed to repeat both in this place as curious and venerable monuments of the conviction the whole antient world were under, in respect to the power, which the Divinity exercises over human things. The first is as follows.

*Invocation
of the tutelary
gods of
Carthage
to quit it,
and devot-
ing of that
city.*

Macro-
b. Sat. iii. 9.

O thou, god or goddess, under whose protection the People and State of Carthage are, and you especially who have taken upon you to defend this city and its people, I beg, I conjure and ask it as a boon, that you will abandon the People and State of Carthage,

that

A. R. 603.
Ant. C. 149.

that you will quit all its places, temples, sacrifices, and the city; remove from it, and spread terror, dismay, and blindness of mind over this People and State. Abandoned by your antient votaries, come to Rome amidst my people: let all that belongs to us, places, temples, sacrifices, and city be more grateful to and please you more than your antient abode: be the defenders of me, the Roman People, and my soldiers in such manner, that we may perceive and acknowledge the effects of your protection. If you give ear to my prayer, I vow to erect temples to you, and to celebrate games in your honour.

After having called out the gods protectors of the enemy's city in this manner, the Romans devoted it to the infernal divinities by this second form, which, as well as the first, was to be repeated by the General.

God Pluto, Jupiter the maleficent, Dii manes, or by whatever other names you are to be called, I ask that you will fill the whole city of Carthage and the army which I have in my thoughts, and which I bear, with disorder, terror and dismay; that you will deprive those, who shall carry arms defensive or offensive against our legions and army, of the light of the day; that you cause the army and enemies we attack to perish, men, cities, lands, with all those that inhabit in the places, regions, lands, and cities, which belong to our enemies; that you regard as devoted and consecrated to you, according to the most solemn forms of devoting, the army of the enemy, their cities, countries, which I conceive and understand, their beads and persons of all ages without difference amongst them. I give and devote them to you to be substituted in the place of me, of all confided to me, of my office, of the Roman People, of our armies and legions. And lastly, I ask of you that you will not suffer me, all confided to me, my command, our legions and army actually employed in this war,

to experience any disgrace. If you do these things, so that I know, perceive, and discern, that my prayer has been heard, then whoever he be who executes this vow, and in whatever manner he executes it, in sacrificing three black sheep to you, let it be deemed well executed. I pray and attest you, O Earth, who are the mother of mankind, and you also, O Jupiter!

A. R. 603.
Ant. C. 149.

Superstition manifests itself in every part of these forms. We observe in them, that they acknowledged two kinds of divinities, the one beneficent, which they call out of the enemy's city, and invite to inhabit and protect Rome; the other malevolent, to whose wrath they devote the enemy, and from whom they ask nothing for themselves, but to receive no hurt from them. These tedious repetitions of the same words, and tiresome enumerations, this scrupulous attention not to leave any ambiguity, even to adding this clause, *which I conceive and understand*, thereby to remove the obscurity, which might be found against their intent in their words: all this is certainly very miserable. But through these clouds shines forth however the knowledge of the divinity, and a solemn confession of his power over all human events. This is good ore, which the alloy of superstition cannot deprive of its value.

All these imprecations were vented against Carthage; after which the Consuls attacked it with force of arms. They expected nothing less than to find a vigorous resistance, and the incredible boldness of the besieged astonished them extremely. Nothing passed but frequent and brisk sallies to repulse the besiegers, to burn the machines, and to harass the foragers. Censorinus attacked the city on one side, and Manilius on the other. Scipio, from thenceforth the terror of Carthage, served at that time as legionary tribune, and distinguished himself amongst all the officers as much by his
prudence

*Carthage
besieged by
the two
Consuls.
App. p.
55—58.*

*Scipio di-
stinguishes
himself a-
bove all
the other
officers.*

A. R. 603.
Ant. C. 149.

prudence as valour. The Consuls committed many faults by not following his advice. That young officer brought off the troops from several steps, in which the imprudence of the Generals had engaged them. An illustrious Carthaginian, named Himilco Phameas, who commanded the enemy's cavalry, which incessantly harrassed, and very much incommoded the foragers, did not dare to appear in the field, when it was Scipio's turn to sustain them; so well did he know how to keep his troops in order, and to post them advantageously. So great and general a reputation drew envy upon him at first: but as he behaved in all things with abundance of modesty and reserve, it soon changed into admiration, so that when the Senate sent Deputies into the camp to enquire into the State of the siege; the whole army joined in speaking in his favour; soldiers, officers, the Generals themselves, with one voice extolled the merit of young Scipio: so important is it, if I may use the expression, to soften the lustre of an infant glory by modest and obliging manners, and not to inflame jealousy by haughtiness and sufficiency of behaviour, the natural effects of which are to alarm self-love in others, and to render even merit and virtue odious.

A. R. 604.
Ant. C. 148.

S. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.

L. CALPURNIUS PISO.

*Death of
Masinissa.*

Masinissa seeing himself near death, desired Scipio to come to him, to assist him in making the proper dispositions in respect to the succession, and the partition it would be necessary to make of them amongst his children. Scipio, on his arrival, found him dead. That Prince at his death had commanded them to refer themselves in all things to Scipio's decision, whom he left them as a father and guardian. I defer speaking with more extent
of

of Masinissa's family and posterity in this place, to avoid interrupting the history of Carthage too long. A. R. 604. Ant. C. 148.

The esteem Phameas had conceived for Scipio, induced him to quit the side of the Carthaginians to embrace that of the Romans. He surrendered himself to him with above two thousand horse, and was afterwards of great service to the besiegers. App. p. 65.

Calpurnius Piso Consul, and L. Mancinus his Lieutenant, arrived in Africa in the beginning of the spring. The campaign passed without any considerable action. They were even worsted on several occasions, and carried on the siege of Carthage but slowly. The besieged on the contrary had resumed courage. Their troops increased considerably; and they spared no pains to engage the States and Kings in their quarrel. They sent as far as Macedonia to the false Philip, who pretended himself the son of Perseus, and was then actually at war with the Romans, exhorting him to push it on vigorously, and promising him supplies of money and ships. The new Consul Piso continues the siege with great languor. App. p. 66. Andrisus.

This news occasioned disquiet at Rome. They began to apprehend for the success of a war, which from day to day became more doubtful, and more important than had at first been imagined. The more they were dissatisfied with the slowness of the Generals and the worse they spoke of them, the more earnest was every body to speak well of young Scipio, and to extol his extraordinary virtues: and Cato himself, who did not willingly praise, applied to him what Homer says of Tiresias compared with the other dead: "He only is wise; the

"rest are mere shadows." Οἱ δὲ πένυλαι τοῦ ὅσκιου ἀνδρός. Scipio, who stood only for the office of Ædile, is elected Consul, and charged with the war of Africa. App. p. 68. Hom. Od. l. x. v. 495. He came to Rome to demand the Edileship. As soon as he appeared in the assembly, his name, aspect, reputation, and the general belief, that the gods had destined him to terminate the third Punic war, as the first Scipio his grand-
father

A. R. 604.
Ant. C. 148.

father by adoption had terminated the second; all this extremely struck the people; and though the thing was contrary to the laws, and the Old for that reason opposed it, instead of the Edileship which he asked, the people gave him the Consulship, setting the laws aside for this year, and resolved, that he should have Africa for his province without drawing lots, as was the custom, and as Drusus his Collegue demanded.

A. R. 605.
Ant. C. 147.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.

C. LIVIUS DRUSUS.

*Scipio
arrives in
Africa,
and deli-
vers
Mancinus
from great
danger.
App. p. 69.*

As soon as Scipio had compleated his recruits, he set out for Sicily, and soon arrived at Utica. This was very opportunely for Mancinus, Piso's Lieutenant, who had rashly engaged himself in a post, where the enemy kept him shut up, and where they were going to cut him to pieces the next morning, if the new Consul, who was informed of his danger on his arrival, had not made his troops re-imbark in the night, and hastened to his aid.

*He re-
establishes
discipline
in the
army.
lb. p. 70.*

Scipio's first care on his arrival was to re-establish discipline amongst the troops, which he found entirely ruined. They had neither order, subordination, nor obedience. Their sole care was to plunder, eat, drink, and divert themselves. He made all the useless mouths quit the camp, regulated the species of provisions the sutlers were to bring in, and would suffer none but what were simple and military; industriously banishing all that tended to luxury and voluptuousness.

*He carries
on the siege
with vi-
gour.*

When he had well established this reformation, which cost him neither much time nor pains, because he set others the example in his own person, he believed he had soldiers, and applied himself seriously to the siege. Having made his troops provide themselves with axes, cleavers, and lad-
ders,

ders, he led them in the night with great silence to a part of the city called Mægara, and having ordered great cries to be raised on a sudden, he attacked it with the utmost vigour. The enemy, who did not expect to be attacked in the night, were at first very much terrified. However they defended themselves with great courage, and Scipio could not scale the walls. But having observed a tower, which they had abandoned, he sent a detachment of bold and determinate soldiers thither, who, by the help of pontons passed from the tower to the walls, entered Mægara, and broke down the gates. Scipio entered that moment, drove the enemy from that post, who, surprized and confounded by this unforeseen attack, and believing the whole city taken, fled to the Citadel, and were followed by the troops also that incamped without the city. The latter abandoned their camp to the Romans, and thought it necessary to provide for their security.

A. R. 605.
Ant. C. 147.

Before I go on, it is proper that I should give some idea in this place of the situation and bigness of Carthage, which in the beginning of the war with the Romans had seven hundred thousand inhabitants. It was situated at the bottom of a gulf, surrounded by the sea in the form of a peninsula, of which the neck, that is the Isthmus, which joined it to the continent, was a league and a quarter (five and twenty *stadia*) in breadth. The peninsula was eighteen leagues in circumference [360 *stadia*.] On the western side projected a long point of land, almost an hundred and four yards [half a stadium] broad, which running into the sea separated it from the morass, and was closed on all sides by rocks and a single wall. On the south side next the continent, where the citadel called *Byrsa* stood, the city was inclosed within three walls thirty cubits high without the pa-

Description of Carthage.
App. p. 56, 57.
Strab. l. xvii. p. 832.

A. R. 605.
Ant. C. 147.

rapets and towers that flanked it all around at equal distances, an hundred and sixty yards from each other. Each tower had four stories: the walls had but two, they were vaulted, and at bottom there were stables for three hundred elephants, and the things necessary for their subsistence, and others over them for four thousand horses, with magazines for their provender. There were also places for lodging twenty thousand foot and four thousand horse. To conclude, all these military preparations were contained in the walls only. There was but one part in the city, where the walls were weak and low: this was a neglected angle, which began at the point of land, of which we have spoken, and ran on quite to the ports, that were on the western side. There were two, which communicated with each other, but which had but one entrance seventy feet broad, that was closed with chains. The first was for the merchants: here were many and different places of abode for the seamen. The other was the interior port for the ships of war, in the midst of which was an * isle, called Cothon, that as well as the port had great quays on its sides. Here were separate covered docks for laying up two hundred and twenty ships, with magazines over them; where all things necessary for arming and fitting out ships were kept. The entrance of each of these docks intended for laying up ships was adorned with two marble Ionic pillars: so that the port as well as the isle represented on the two sides two magnificent galleries. In this isle was the Admiral's palace; and as it fronted the entrance of the port, he could from thence discover all that passed in the main sea, whilst nothing could be seen from

* According to Sam. Bochartus, the Cothon was not an isle, but the port itself so cut by human art.

thence, that was done within the port. In like manner the merchants had no view of the ships of war, the two ports being separated by a double wall, and in each there was a particular gate for entering the city without passing through the other port. Thus we can distinguish three parts in Carthage. The port, which was double, sometimes called *Colbon*, from the little isle of that name: the citadel, called *Byrsa*: and the city properly so called, where the inhabitants lived, which surrounded the citadel, and was called *Megara*.

A. R. 605.
Ant. C. 147.

Boch. in
Phal. p.
512.

Asdrubal General of the Carthaginians, seeing at day-break the shameful defeat of his troops, to revenge himself on the Romans, and at the same time to deprive the inhabitants of all hopes of accommodation and pardon, formed and executed a project worthy of him. It was this Asdrubal, whom we have seen at first proscribed by his country, and then appointed by them to command the troops that were without the city, whilst another Asdrubal, grandson of Masinissa, by his mother, was to command in Carthage. This first Asdrubal, a violent and ambitious man, and flushed besides with some first successes against the Romans, could not suffer that the command should be divided between him and a colleague: and to unite it entirely in his own person, and deliver himself from a disagreeable rival, he suborned informers to accuse him of holding intelligence with his uncle Gulussa; and having caused him to be killed in the publick place, he in consequence remained in the sole possession of the command both within and without Carthage.

Barbarous
cruelty of
Asdrubal.
App. p. 72.

On the occasion of which we are speaking, out of a barbarous and vile spirit of revenge, he caused all the Roman prisoners he had to be brought to the walls, so as to be near enough to be seen by the whole army. He there made them

suffer

A. R. 605.
Ann. C. 147.

suffer every kind of torment that could be inflicted. Some had their eyes pulled out; some their noses, ears and fingers cut off; others had their skins torn off their bodies with iron combs: and after they had suffered these torments, they were thrown down from the top of the walls. So cruel a treatment gave the Carthaginians horror, far from augmenting their courage: but he did not spare even them, and caused many of the Senators who ventured to oppose his tyranny, to be massacred.

Scipio's
works for
inclosing
the city.
App. p. 73.

Scipio, seeing himself absolute master of the Isthmus, burnt the camp, which the enemy had abandoned, and pitched a new one for his troops. It was of a square form, surrounded with great and deep intrenchments, armed with good palisades. On the side of the Carthaginians he raised a wall twelve feet high, and flanked from space to space with towers and redoubts, and upon the middle tower another very high one of wood was erected, from whence all that passed in the city was seen. This wall occupied the whole breadth of the Isthmus, that is twenty-five *stadia*. The enemy, who were within the reach of darts, used their utmost endeavours to prevent this work: but as the whole army were employed in it night and day without intermission, it was completed in twenty days. Scipio had a double advantage in it: first, because his troops were more securely and commodiously quartered; and secondly, because by this means he cut off the enemy's provisions, to whom none could be brought now, except by sea, which could not be done without great difficulties, as well because the sea on that side is often tempestuous, as from the strict guard kept by the Roman fleet. And this was one of the principal causes of the famine, which was soon felt in the city. Besides which Asdrubal distributed the

the corn that he received only to thirty thousand men, who served under him, little regarding the rest of the multitude. A. R. 605.
Ant. C. 147.

In order still to cut off their provisions more, Ibid. p. 74. Scipio undertook to shut up the entrance of the port by a mole, which began from the point of land, of which we have spoken, that was at no great distance from the port. The enterprize at first seemed senseless to the besieged, and they derided the workmen. But, when they saw, that the work advanced every day in an extraordinary manner, they began to fear in earnest, and thought of taking measures to render it useless. Women and children, every body set to work; but with so much secrecy, that Scipio could learn nothing of it by the prisoners of war, who only told him, that abundance of noise was heard in the port, but without its being known what was doing there. At length every thing being ready, the Carthaginians suddenly opened a new entrance on another side of the port, and appeared at sea with a sufficiently numerous fleet, which they had just built with the old materials, that remained in the magazines. It is agreed, that if they had attacked the Roman fleet immediately, they would infallibly have taken it; because, as nothing of this kind was expected, and every body was employed elsewhere, they would have found it without rowers, soldiers, or officers. But, says the historian, Carthage was doomed to fall. They contented themselves then with making a kind of insult and bravado upon the Romans, and returned into the port.

Two days after they made their ships advance to fight in earnest, and found the enemy in good order. This battle was to decide the fate of both parties. It was long and obstinate, the forces on both sides making extraordinary efforts, the one Sea-fight.
APP P. 75.

A. R. 605.
Ant. C. 147.

to save their country reduced to extremities, and the other to compleat their victory. In the battle the brigantines of the Carthaginians running along under the sides of the great ships of the Romans, broke sometimes their poops, sometimes their rudders, and sometimes the oars; and if they were pressed, they retired with surprizing agility to return again immediately to the charge. At length the two fleets having fought with equal advantage till sun set, the Carthaginians thought proper to retire, nor reckoning themselves defeated, but to renew the fight next day. Part of their ships not being able to enter the port soon enough, because its entrance was too narrow, retired to the front of a very spacious terrass, which had been made against the walls for the landing of merchandize, on the side of which a little rampart had been raised during this war, lest the enemy, should seize it. The battle began again there, with still more vigour than ever, and continued till very late in the night. The Carthaginians suffered very much in it, and their ships that remained took refuge in the city. The next morning early Scipio attacked the terrass, and having with great difficulty made himself master of it, he posted and fortified himself there, and caused a brick wall to be made on the side of the city very near the walls, and of the same heighth. When it was finished, he made four thousand men mount it, with orders to keep a perpetual discharge of darts and arrows upon the enemy, who were much incommoded by them, because the two walls being of equal height, they scarce threw a single dart without effect. Thus ended this campaign.

Scipio, during the winter, attacks and takes Nepheris, a place in the neighbourhood of Carthage.
App p. 78.

during the winter-quarters, Scipio employed himself in getting rid of the troops without the place, which very much incommoded his convoys, and facilitated those sent to the besieged. In order to this he attacked a neighbouring place, called Nepheris,

Nepheris, which served them for a retreat. In a last action there perished on the enemy's side above seventy thousand men, as well soldiers as armed peasants, and the place was carried with great difficulty after a siege of two and twenty days. The carrying of this place was followed with the surrender of almost all the towns of Africa, and very much contributed to the taking of Carthage itself, into which it was from thenceforth almost impossible to introduce provisions.

A. R. 605.
Ant. C. 147.

CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

A. R. 606.
Ant. C. 146.

L. MUMMIUS.

In the beginning of the spring Scipio at the same time attacked the port called Cothon and the citadel. Having made himself master of the wall, which surrounded that port, he threw himself into the great place of the city, which was near it, from whence there were ascents to the citadel by three streets on a declivity with a great number of houses on each side of them, from the tops of which a continual discharge of darts was made upon the Romans, who were forced, before they could advance, to force the nearest houses, and to post themselves upon them, in order from thence to drive away those who fought from those adjacent. The battle on the tops and at the bottom of these houses continued six days, with dreadful slaughter. To clear the streets and open a way for the troops, the bodies of the inhabitants, who had been either killed or thrown from the tops of the houses, were drawn away with hooks, and thrown into the fosse's, most of them still alive and respiring. In this labour, which took up six days and nights, the soldiers were relieved from time to time by others, who were fresh, without which it had been impossible to have sustained the fatigue. During that whole time Scipio was the only person,

Continuation of the siege.
Id. p. 79.

A. R. 606. who did not sleep, giving his orders on all sides,
 Ant. C. 146. and scarce allowing himself time to take any
 nourishment.

The city at length surrenders.
 App. p. 81. The besieged were reduced to extremities: and
 on the seventh day some appeared in the habits of
 suppliants, who asked no other conditions, than
 that the Romans would be pleased to grant all those
 their lives, who should quit the citadel; which
 was granted them, the deserters only excepted.
 Fifty thousand men and women left it, who were
 conducted into fields under a good guard. The
 deserters, who were about nine hundred in number,
 seeing there was no quarter for them to hope, in-
 trenced themselves in the temple of Æsculapius
 with Asdrubal, his wife and two children; where,
 though their number were but small, they however
 defended themselves for some time, because the
 place was high, situated on rocks, and had an
 ascent of sixty steps. But at length, pressed by
 hunger, and exhausted by fatigue, they shut them-
 selves up in the temple itself, resolved not to quit
 it but with life.

Asdrubal also surrenders. Asdrubal however with design to save himself,
 secretly went down to Scipio, with an olive-
 branch in his hand, and threw himself at his feet.
 Scipio caused him to be shewn immediately to the
 deserters, who transported with fury and rage,
 vented a thousand curses against him, and set fire

Asdrubal's wife kills her children, and throws herself into the fire with them. to the temple. Whilst they were kindling it, it
 is said that Asdrubal's wife adorned herself as well
 as she could, and placing herself with her two
 children in the sight of Scipio, spoke to him with
 a loud voice to this effect: *I make no imprecations
 against thee, Roman: for thou only usest the rights
 of war. But may the gods of Carthage, and you
 in concert with them, punish the perfidious wretch
 who has betrayed his country, gods, wife and chil-
 dren, as he deserves.* Then addressing herself to
 Asdrubal;

Aldrubal: *Vile, perfidious, basest of men, this fire will soon consume me and my children; as for thee, unworthy General of Carthage, go and adorn the triumph of thy conqueror, and suffer in the sight of Rome the punishment due to thy crimes.* After these reproaches she cut her childrens throats and threw them into the fire, and then leaped into it herself.

A. R. 606.
Ant. C. 146.

As to Scipio, on seeing this city, which had been so flourishing during seven hundred years, equal to the greatest empires in extent of dominion by sea and land, by its numerous armies, fleets, elephants, and riches; superior even to other nations in valour and greatness of soul, which, entirely deprived as it was both of arms and ships, had enabled it to sustain during three whole years the miseries of a siege; seeing, I say, this city at this time absolutely ruined, we are told, that he could not refuse tears to the unhappy fate of Carthage. He considered that cities, nations, and empires, are subject to revolutions, as well as private persons; that the same disgrace had happened to Troy, of old so powerful, and afterwards to the Assyrians, Medes and Persians, whose dominion was of such great extent; and very lately again to the Macedonians, whose empire had made so glorious a figure. Full of these sad ideas, he repeated two verses of Homer's the sense of which is: (a) *That the time should come, when the sacred city of Troy and the warlike Priam and his people should be destroyed,* implying by those verses the future fate of Rome, as he owed to Polybius, who desired him to explain his thought to him.

Scipio's
compassion
of the
ruin of
Carthage.
App. p. 82.

Iliad. l. vi.
v. 448.

(a) Ἔορται ἡμεῖς, ὅτ' αὖ ποτ' ὀλέσῃ Ἴλιον ἱρὸν,
καὶ Πριάμῳ, καὶ λαὸς ἑὺμμελίῳ Πριάμοιο.

If

A. R. 606.
Ant. C. 146.

Eccles.
x. 8.

If he had been enlightened by the rays of truth, he would have known what the Scripture teaches us, "Because of unrighteous dealings, injuries, and riches got by deceit, the kingdom is transferred from one people to another." Carthage is destroyed, because avarice, perfidy, and cruelty had been carried there to their utmost height. Rome will have the same fate, when its luxury, ambition, pride and unjust usurpations, covered with the false outside of virtue and justice, shall have forced the supreme Master and Dispenser of empires to exhibit a great example to the universe in its fall.

Noble use
which Sci-
pio makes of
the spoils of
Carthage.

Carthage having been taken in this manner, Scipio gave the plunder of it to his soldiers during some days, except the gold, silver, statues, and other offerings found in the temples. He afterwards distributed many military rewards amongst them, as well as to the officers, two of whom had distinguished themselves in particular. These were Ti. Gracchus, and C. Fannius, who had first mounted the walls. He caused a very swift sailing ship to be adorned with the spoils of the enemy, and sent it to Rome to carry the news of the victory.

At the same time he let the inhabitants of Sicily know, that they might come, and carry away the paintings and statues, which the Carthaginians had taken from them in the preceding wars. And when he restored to the people of Agrigentum (a) the famous bull of Phalaris, he told them, that bull, which was at once a monument of the cruelty of their antient Kings, and

(a) Quem taurum Scipio populo R. obtemperare, cum cum redderet Agrigentinis, idem monumentum & domedixisse dicitur, æquum esse illos cogitare utrum esset Siculicæ crudelitatis, & nostræ mansuetudinis haberent. Cic. in Verr. l. iv. n. 78.

of the lenity of their new masters, ought to teach them, whether it were more for their advantage to be under the yoke of the Sicilians than the government of the Roman People.

Having caused part of the spoils found in Carthage to be sold, he strictly prohibited his own people to take, or buy any part of them; so careful was he to remove the least suspicion of interest from himself and his family.

When the news of the taking of Carthage arrived at Rome, the people abandoned themselves immoderately to excess of joy, as if the publick tranquillity had been secure only from that moment. They called to mind all the calamities they had suffered from the Carthaginians in Sicily, Spain, and even in Italy, during sixteen years successively, in which time Hannibal had plundered four hundred cities, killed on several occasions three hundred thousand men, and reduced Rome itself to the last extremity. On considering these misfortunes, they asked each other, whether it was really true that Carthage was destroyed. All the orders emulated each other in expressing their gratitude to the gods, and the city, during several days, was solely engrossed by solemn sacrifices, publick prayers, games and shews.

After the duties of religion were discharged, the Senate sent ten commissioners into Africa, to regulate its condition and fate for the time to come in conjunction with Scipio. Their first care was to cause all that remained of Carthage to be demolished. (a) Rome, already mistress of almost the whole world, did not believe herself safe, whilst

Joy at Rome on the news of the taking of Carthage.

Ten commissioners sent to Africa. App. p. 84. Destruction of Carthage.

(a) Neque se Roma, jam tum, ultra metum durat, & ne in victis quidem deponitur, neque ante invisum esse desinit, quam esse desuit. *Kell. Patrc. lib. i. cap. 12.*

only

A. R. 606.
 Ant. C. 146.

only the name of Carthage subsisted: so long did inveterate hatred, in effect of long and cruel wars, endure beyond the time there was reason to fear; and it did not cease to subsist, till the object that excited it, ceased to be. It was forbidden in the name of the Roman People to inhabit it from thenceforth, with horrible imprecations against those, who, contrary to this prohibition, should attempt to rebuild any part of it, and especially Byrsa and Mægara. They probably excepted the port, as it might be of use to themselves. For the rest, every body was allowed to enter it; (a) Scipio not being sorry that the miserable ruins of a place should be seen, which had disputed empire with Rome. They further decreed, that the cities, which in this war had adhered to the enemy, should be demolished, and their territories given to the allies of the Roman People; and they in particular rewarded the people of Utica with the whole country between Carthage and Hippona. They made all the rest tributary, and a province of the Roman empire, into which a Prætor was annually sent. This was called *the province of Africa*.

Scipio re-
 turns to
 Rome, and
 receives
 the honour
 of a tri-
 umph.
 App. ibid.

When every thing was settled, Scipio returned to Rome, which he entered in triumph. Nothing so splendid had even been seen before: for nothing was seen but statues, rarities, and curious paintings of inestimable value, which the Carthaginians during a long series of years, had brought into Africa; without including the money carried into the publick treasury, which amounted to very great sums. By this important conquest Scipio made the surname of Africanus properly his own, which he already had by right of inheritance.

(a) Ut ipse locus eorum, qui cum hac urbe de imperio certarunt, vestigia calamitatis ostenderet. *Cic. Agrar. ii. n. 50.*

Whatever

Whatever precautions had been taken to prevent any thoughts of reinstating Carthage, less than thirty years after one of the Gracchi, to make his court to the people, undertook to replant it, and carried a colony thither, consisting of six thousand citizens. The Senate being informed that many bad omens had spread terror, when the workmen were laying out the walls, and carrying on the foundations of the new city, they were for putting a stop to the design: But the tribune, who was not very delicate and scrupulous in point of religion, hastened on the execution of it notwithstanding all those sinister omens, and completed it in five days. This was the first Roman colony sent out of Italy.

A. R. 606.
Ant. C. 146.
Carthage rebuilt.
App. p. 85.
Plut. in vit. Grac.
p. 839.

But the unhappy fate of the founder of this colony, prevented it from sustaining itself. It must have consisted only of a kind of cottages (a) when Marius in his flight into Africa, retired thither. For it is said, that he led a life of poverty amongst the ruins of Carthage, consoling himself with the sight of so amazing a prospect, and being in some sense capable by his condition of serving as a consolation to that unfortunate city.

Appian relates, that Julius Cæsar, after the death of Pompey, having entered Africa, dreamt, that a great army with tears called upon him; and that moved by this dream he had wrote down in his table books the design he had formed in consequence to rebuild Carthage and Corinth: but being killed soon after by the conspirators, Augustus Cæsar his son by adoption, who found this memorandum amongst his papers, caused the

(a) Marius cursum in Africam direxit, inopemque vitam in tugurio ruinarum Carthaginiensium toleravit: cum Marius aspiciens Carthaginem, illa intuens Marium, alter alteri possent esse solatio. *Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 19.*

A. R. 606.
Ant. C. 146.

city of Carthage to be rebuilt near the place, where the old one stood, to avoid incurring the curses which had been denounced, when it was demolished, against whomsoever should presume to rebuild it.

Strab.
l. xvii.
p. 833.
Plut. in
Caf. p.
738.

Strabo and Plutarch however ascribe the rebuilding of Carthage and Corinth to Julius Cæsar: and Plutarch even observes as a singularity in respect to those two cities, that as it had before happened to them to be taken and destroyed at the same time, both had also at the same time been rebuilt and repeopled. The rebuilding of Carthage had probably been begun by Julius Cæsar. But his death and the civil wars, that followed it, having retarded the execution, Augustus put the last hand to it. However that be, Strabo affirms, that Carthage was as much peopled in his time as any other city of Africa; and was always the capital of all Africa under the succeeding Emperors. It subsisted with splendor during about seven hundred years more: but it was at length entirely destroyed by the Saracens, in the beginning of the seventh century.

I shall speak in the sequel of the character and great qualities of the second Scipio Africanus. I now think it necessary to treat of the war of Achaia, and the ruin of Corinth, which agrees in time with that of Carthage.

SECT. IV.

Troubles excited in Achaia. The Achaian League declares war against Lacedaemon. Boetia joins the Achaians. Metellus defeats the army of the Achaians. He makes himself master of Thebes and Megara. The Consul Mummius arrives before Corinth. The besieged rashly give battle, and are defeated. The city of Corinth is taken, burnt, and entirely destroyed. Achaia is reduced into a Roman province. Great plunder taken in Corinth. Painting of great value. Disinterestedness of Mummius. That Consul's simplicity. Polybius's zeal for the honour of Philopœmen. His disinterestedness. He establishes order and tranquillity in Achaia. Triumphs of Metellus and Mummius.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.

A. R. 605.

C. LIVIUS DRUSUS.

Ant. C. 147.

GREAT troubles, excited by the rashness and avarice of those who held the first offices, had arose in the Achaian League. Reason, prudence and equity, no longer formed the resolutions of their assemblies; but the interest and passions of the Magistrates, and the blind caprice of an untractable multitude. The Achaian League and Sparta had sent Ambassadors to Rome upon an affair in dispute between them. Damocritus in the mean time, (the principal Magistrate of the Achaians) had caused war to be declared against Sparta. Metellus, who after having conquered the false Philip Andriscus, was then actually regulating the affairs of Macedonia, caused Damocritus to be desired to suspend hostilities, and to wait the arrival of the Commissioners nominated by

Troubles excited in Achaia.
Pausan. in Achaic. p. 411-428.
Polyb. Legat. 143, 144.
Id. in Excerpt. de virt. & vit. p. 181-189.
Justin. l. xxxiv. c. i.
Flor. l. ii. c. 16.

A. R. 605.
Ant. C. 147.

by Rome for terminating their differences. Neither he nor Diæus who had succeeded him, had any regard to this request. Both of them entered Laconia in arms, and ravaged it.

When the Commissioners arrived, the assembly was summoned to Corinth, (Aurelius Orestes was at the head of the Commission.) The Senate had given them orders to weaken the body of the league; and for that purpose to separate as many cities as they could from it. Orestes notified the decree of the Senate to the assembly, which excluded from the league Sparta, Corinth, Argos, Heraclæa near mount Oeta, and Orchomenus of Arcadia, under pretext, that those cities had not at first formed part of the body of the Achæians. When the Deputies, who composed the assembly, had given an account of this decree to the multitude, they were seized with fury, fell upon all the Lacedæmonians at Corinth, and massacred them, tore those out of the houses of the Commissioners who had taken refuge in them, and would have treated themselves with the greatest insult if they had not escaped their violence by flight.

Orestes and his Collegues, on their return to Rome, related all that had happened to them. The Senate was highly incensed, and immediately dispatched Julius with some other Commissioners, into Achæia: but they were instructed to complain moderately, and only to exhort the Achæians not to give ear to bad counsels, lest they should incur the resentment of the Romans by imprudence; a misfortune which they might avoid by punishing those themselves, who had exposed them to it. Carthage was not yet taken, and there were reasons of interest for acting with reserve in respect to allies so powerful as the Achæians. The Commissioners met a Deputy on their way, sent by the seditious, to Rome: they brought him back with them to Ægium,

Ægium, whither the Assembly of the nation had been called. They spoke in it with great moderation and mildness. In their discourse they did not complain of the ill treatment of the Commissioners, or excuse it better than the Achæians themselves could have done. Neither did they mention the cities that were to be excluded from the league. They confined themselves to exhorting the council not to aggravate their first fault, nor to irritate the Romans more, and to leave Sparta in peace. Such moderate remonstrances were extremely agreeable to all the persons of sense present. But Diæus, Critolaus, and those of their faction, all chosen in their several cities out of the vilest, most impious, and pernicious people, blew up the flames of discord, by insinuating that the lenity of the Romans proceeded only from the bad condition of their affairs in Africa, where they had been worsted upon many occasions, and from the fear they were in that the Achæian League would declare against them.

In the mean time the Commissioners were treated with sufficient respect. They were told, that Thearidas should be sent to Rome, and they were desired to repair to Tegea, to treat there with the Lacedæmonians, and incline them to peace. Accordingly they repaired thither, and prevailed upon the Lacedæmonians to enter into an accommodation with the Achæians, and to suspend all hostilities, till new Commissioners should arrive from Rome to put an end to their differences. But on the side of the Achæians, only Critolaus went to the congress, and he did not arrive there till very late, and when he was almost no longer expected. A conference was held with the Lacedæmonians; but Critolaus would abate nothing of his pretensions. He said, that he was not allowed to decide any thing without the consent of the

A. R. 605.
Ant. C. 147.

A city on
the banks
of the Eu-
rotas.

A. R. 605. nation, and would report the affair in the general
 Ant. C. 147. diet, which could not be called in less than six
 months. This bad stratagem, or rather breach of
 faith, highly offended Julius. After having dis-
 missed the Lacedæmonians, he set out for Rome,
 where he described Critolaus as a man extravagant
 and out of his senses.

The Commissioners had no sooner quitted Pe-
 loponnesus, than Critolaus ran from city to city
 during the whole winter, and called assemblies
 under pretext of making known what had been
 said to the Lacedæmonians in the conferences held
 at Tegea, but at bottom to exclaim against the
 Romans, and to give an odious turn to their
 whole conduct, in order to inspire others with the
 same hatred and aversion, which he had for them
 himself; and he succeeded but too well. He also
 prohibited the judges to prosecute or imprison any
 Achaian for debt, till the conclusion of the affair
 between the Assembly and Lacedæmon. He
 thereby carried every thing he pleased, and dis-
 posed the multitude to receive all orders he thought
 fit to give. Incapable of making reflexions upon
 the future, they suffered themselves to be caught
 by the attraction of the first advantage he proposed.

Metellus having received advice in Macedonia
 of the troubles in Peloponnesus, dispatched four
 Romans thither of distinguished birth, who ar-
 rived at Corinth at the time the council was assem-
 bled there. They spoke in it with abundance of
 moderation, exhorting the Achaians not to incur
 the anger of the Romans by a rash and impru-
 dent levity. They were treated with derision, and
 ignominiously driven out of the assembly. An
 innumerable throng of workmen and artificers ga-
 thered round them to insult them. All the cities
 of Achaia were at that time in a delirium; but
 Corinth more than the rest, which had abandoned
 itself

itself to a kind of madness. They had been persuaded, that Rome intended to enslave them all, and absolutely to destroy the Achaian League.

Critolaus seeing with great satisfaction that every thing succeeded to his wish, harangued the multitude, exasperated them against such of the magistrates as did not enter into his views, exclaimed against the Ambassadors themselves, animated every body against Rome, and intimated that it was not without taking good measures that he had ventured to make head against the Romans; that he had Kings in his party, and that some Republicks were also ready to join it. By these seditious discourses he succeeded in causing war to be declared against the Lacedæmonians, and indirectly against the Romans. The Ambassadors then separated. One of them repaired to Lacedæmon to observe from thence the conduct of the enemy. Another set out for Naupactus; and two remained at Athens, till Metellus should arrive there.

The magistrate of the Bœotians, called Pytheas, who was as rash and violent as Critolaus, came into his views, and engaged the Bœotians to join their arms with those of the Achaians; they were discontented upon a account of judgment Rome had passed against them. The city of Chalcis suffered itself also to be brought over to their party. The Achaians, with such weak aids, believed themselves in a condition to sustain the whole weight of the Roman power, so much were they blinded by their fury.

The Romans had chosen Mummius for one of the Consuls, and had charged him with the war of Achaia. Metellus, to deprive him of the glory of terminating this war, sent new Ambassadors to the Achaians, and promised them, that the Roman People should forget all the past, and pardon them their faults, if they would return to

A. R. 605.
Ant. C. 147.

The Achai-
an League
declares
war a-
gainst
Sparta.

Bœotia
joins the
Achaians.

A. R. 606.
Ant. C. 146.
Metellus
defeats the
army of
the Achai-
ans.

A. R. 606.
Ant. C. 146.

their duty, and consent, that certain cities, which had been named before, should be dismembered from the league. This proposal was rejected with haughtiness. Metellus then made his troops move against the Achaïans. He came up with them near Scarphia, a city of Locris, and gained a considerable victory over them, in which he took above a thousand prisoners. Critolaus disappeared in the battle, without its being known what became of him afterwards. It was believed that he fell into some morasses in flying, and was drowned. Diaus succeeded him in the command, gave liberty to the slaves, and armed all the men capable of service amongst the Achaïans and Arcadians. This body of troops amounted to forty thousand foot, and six hundred horse. He further ordered every city to raise troops. The exhausted cities were in the utmost affliction. Many private persons, in despair killed themselves: others abandoned an unhappy country, where they saw nothing for themselves but assured destruction. Notwithstanding the extremity of these calamities, they did not think of taking the only resolution, that could deliver them from them. They detested the temerity of their leaders, and however followed them.

*He makes
himself
master of
Thebes and
Megara.*

Metellus after the battle, of which we have spoken, met a thousand Arcadians in Bœotia near Chæroneâ, who were endeavouring to return into their own country: they were all put to the sword. From thence he marched with his victorious army to Thebes, which he found almost entirely abandoned. Moved with the sad condition of that city, he ordered, that the temples and houses should not be touched, and that none of the inhabitants either in the city or country should be killed or made prisoners. He excepted Pytheas from that number, the author of all these misfortunes,

fortunes, who was brought to him, and put to death. A. R. 606.
Ant. C. 146.

From Thebes, after having taken Megara, *He makes* from which the garrison had retired on his ap-*overtures* proach, he made his troops march towards Co-*of an ac-* rinth, where Diaeus had shut himself up. He sent *commoda-* thither three of the principal persons of the league, *tion in* who had taken refuge with him, to exhort the *vain.* Achaians to recover their senses, and accept the conditions of peace, which were offered them. Metellus passionately desired to terminate the affair before the arrival of Mummius. The inhabitants on their side ardently wished to see an end of their calamities: but they were not their own masters, and the faction of Diaeus disposed all things. The Deputies were imprisoned, and would have been put to death, if Diaeus had not seen the multitude extremely exasperated by the punishment he had inflicted upon Socrates, the having talked of surrendering to the Romans. The prisoners were in consequence dismissed.

Things were in this state when Mummius ar-*The Consul* rived. He had hastened his march through fear *Mummius* of finding every thing ended before his arrival, *arrives be-* at least another should have the glory of termi-*fore Co-* nating this war. Metellus left the command to *rinth.* him, and returned into Macedonia. When Mummius had assembled all his troops, he approached the city, and incamped. An advanced guard behaving negligently in their post, the besieged made a sally, attacked it vigorously, killed many of them, and pursued the rest almost to their camp.

This slight advantage flushed the Achaians, and in effect proved fatal to them. Diaeus offered the Consul battle. The latter, to increase his temerity, kept his troops in the camp, as if withheld by fear. The joy and audacity of the Achaians

augmented

A. R. 606.
Ant. C. 146.

augmented to a degree not to be expressed. They advanced boldly with all their troops, having placed their wives and children upon the neighbouring eminences to be witnesses of the battle, and caused a great number of carriages to follow them to carry the spoils they should take from the enemy, so much did they assure themselves of victory.

Never was confidence more rash nor more ill-founded. The faction had removed all persons capable of commanding the troops, and of administering publick affairs from the service and councils, and had substituted others to them without talents and ability, in order to ingross the government to themselves, and to lord it without resistance. The Generals, without knowledge of the art-military, courage, or experience, had no other merit but a blind and frantic animosity. It was excess of folly to hazard a battle without necessity, that was to decide their fate, instead of resolving long and bravely to defend themselves in a place so strong as Corinth, and to obtain good conditions by a vigorous resistance. The battle

* This
place is not
known.

was fought near * Leucopetra, at the very entrance of the Isthmus. The Consul had placed part of his cavalry in an ambuscade, from which it issued very opportunely for attacking that of the Achæians in flank, which surprized by a sudden charge, gave way in a moment. The infantry made a little more resistance: but as it was no longer either covered or sustained by the cavalry, it was soon broke and put to flight. If Diæus had retired into the place, he might have held out for some time, and obtained an honourable capitulation from Mummius, who fought only to terminate this war. But abandoned to despair he rode full speed to Megalopolis his country, and having entered his house, he set fire to it, killed his wife, that

that she might not fall into the hands of the enemy, A. R. 606.
Ant. C. 145. swallowed poison, and in this manner himself put an end, worthy the many crimes he had committed, to his life.

After the defeat, the inhabitants had no hopes The city of of defending themselves. As they had neither Corinth is council, leaders, courage, nor concert, no body taken, thought of rallying the remains of the troops for burnt, and making some farther resistance, and to oblige the entirely victor to grant them some supportable condition. dest o. ed.

In consequence all the Achæians who had retired to Corinth, and most of the citizens, quitted it the following night, and escaped where they could. The Consul having entered the city, abandoned it to be plundered. All the men who remained in it were put to the sword: the women and children were sold: after having removed the statues, paintings, and most valuable effects, fire was set to all the houses, and the whole city was but one general conflagration that continued several days. It is pretended, but without foundation, that the gold, silver, and copper, melted together in this fire, formed a new and precious metal. The walls were afterwards demolished to the foundation. All this was executed by order of the Senate, to punish the insolence of the Corinthians, who had violated the law of nations by insulting the Ambassadors sent to them by Rome.

Thus perished Corinth, the same year Carthage was taken and destroyed by the Romans. It does not appear, either that they thought of raising new troops for the defence of the country, or called any assembly to deliberate upon the measures necessary to be taken; that any body took upon them to propose a remedy for the publick calamities, or lastly sought to appease the Romans by sending Deputies to implore their clemency. To see this inaction, one might have said, that the

A. R. 606.
Ant. C. 146.

whole Achaian League had been buried under the ruins of Corinth: so much had the dreadful destruction of that city alarmed and discouraged the people in general.

*Achaia is
reduced in-
to a Ro-
man pro-
vince.*

The cities, which joined the Achaians in their revolt, were also punished, by demolishing their walls and taking away their arms. The ten Commissioners, sent by the Senate to regulate the affairs of Greece in conjunction with the Consul, abolished the popular government in all the cities, and established Magistrates, chosen out of the richest citizens, in them. For the rest they left them their laws and liberty. They also abolished all the general assemblies held by the Achaians, Bœotians, Phocæans, and other States: but they were re-established soon after. From thenceforth Greece was reduced into a Roman province, under the name of the province of Achaia; because at the time Corinth was taken, the Achaians were the most powerful people of Greece: the Roman People sent a Prætor thither every year to govern it.

Rome in destroying Corinth, thought it necessary to set that example of severity, to intimidate the States of Greece, whom her too great clemency rendered bold, and rash, through the hope they had of obtaining pardon for their faults from the Roman People. Besides which (a) the advantageous situation of that city, where revolted people might post themselves, and make it a place of arms against the Romans, determined them to demolish it entirely. Cicero, who does not condemn the treating of Carthage and Numantia in

(a) *Majores nostri — Carthaginem & Numantiam funditus sustulerunt. Nollem Corinthum. Sed credo illos secutos opportunitatem loci*

maximè, ne posset aliquando ad bellum faciendum locus ipse adhortari. Cic. de Offic. l. i. n. 35.

this manner, could have wished, that Corinth had been spared. A. R. 606. Ant. C. 146.

The plunder taken in Corinth was sold for very considerable sums of money. Amongst the paintings there was one done by a great * master, which represented Bacchus, the beauty of which was not known to the Romans: they were ignorant at that time of all that relates to paintings and sculptures. Polybius, who was then in the country, as I shall soon say, had the grief to see that painting used by the soldiers for a table to play at dice upon. It was sold to Attalus, at the sale made of the plunder, for six hundred thousand sesterces, that is, about three thousand five hundred pounds. Pliny speaks of another painting, for which the same Attalus gave an hundred talents, about twelve thousand five hundred pounds. That Prince was so immensely rich, that his riches became a proverb: *Attalicis conditionibus*. These sums however seem improbable. However it were, the Consul surprized, that the picture of which we are speaking had so much money bade for it, interposed his authority, and kept it, contrary to the publick faith, and notwithstanding the complaints of Attalus; because he believed there was some hidden virtue in this piece that he did not know.

It (a) was not from the motive of private interest, that he acted in this manner, nor from the

* This was Aristides. The painting, here spoken of, was so much esteemed, that it was commonly said: All pictures are nothing in comparison with the Bacchus.

(a) Numquid L. Mummius copiosior, cum copiosissimam urbem funditus sustulisset? Italiam ornare, quam domum

suam, maluit. Quanquam, Italia ornata, domus ipse mihi videtur ornatio — Laus abstinentiæ, non hominis est solum, sed etiam temporum — Habere quæstui tempus non modo turpe est, sed sceleratum etiam & nefarium. *Cic. de Offic. lib. ii. n. 76, 77.*

Disinterestedness of Mummius.

design

A. R. 606.
ANLC. 146.

design of appropriating it to himself, as he sent it to Rome, to be an ornament of the city: Whereby, says, Cicero, he adorned his own house much more, than if he had placed this painting in it. The taking of the greatest city in Greece did not enrich him one farthing. This noble disinterestedness was even in those days not uncommon at Rome, and seemed less the virtue of individuals, than of the age itself. To make command the means of enriching one's self, was not only disgrace and infamy, but a criminal prevarication. The painting, of which I am speaking, was placed in the temple of Ceres, where the people of taste went out of curiosity to see it as a master-piece of art, and it remained there till it was destroyed with the temple by fire.

*That Con-
sul's sim-
plicity.*

Mummius was a great soldier, and a man of singular worth, but without literature, knowledge of arts, or taste for works of painting and sculpture, the merit of which he did not understand; not believing, that there was any difference between picture and picture, statue and statue; nor that the names of the great masters of the art gave them their value. This he evidenced upon this occasion. (a) He had appointed persons to get many paintings and statues of the most excellent masters carried to Rome. Never had loss been less reparable than that of such a deposit, composed of the masterpieces of those rare artists, who contributed as much as the great Captains to

(a) Mummius tam rudis fuit, ut, capta Corintho, cum maximorum artificum perfectas manibus tabulas ac statuas in Italiam portandas locaret, juberet prædici conducentibus, si eas perdidissent, novas eos reddituros. Non tamen puto dubites, Vinici, quin magis pro republica fuerit, manere adhuc rudem Corinthiorum intellectum, quàm in tantum ea intelligi; & quin hac prudentiâ illa imprudentia decori publico fuerit convenientior, Vell. Patercul. l. i. n. 13.

render their age glorious to posterity. Mummius however, in recommending the care of this precious collection to those he intrusted with them, threatned them very seriously, if the statues, paintings, and things with which he charged them, should happen to be lost or spoiled upon the way, that he would make them find others at their own expence and charges.

Were it not to be desired, says an historian from whom we have this fact, that this happy ignorance still subsisted, and would not such a grossness be infinitely preferable, with respect to publick good, to that extreme refinement to which the present age has carried its taste for rarities of this kind? He speaks at a time, when this taste for the fine works of art induced the magistrates to commit all kinds of rapine, and even thefts, in the provinces.

I have said, that Polybius, at his return into Peloponnesus, had the grief to see the destruction and burning of Corinth, and his country reduced into a province of the Roman empire. If any thing was capable of consoling him in so melancholy a conjuncture, it was the occasion which he had of defending the memory of Philopæmen his master in the art of war.

*Polybius's
zeal for
the honour
of Philo-
pæmen.
Polyb.
apud
Vales. p.
190--192.*

A Roman having conceived a design to cause the statues erected to that Hero to be demolished, had the boldness to bring a criminal process against him, as if he was still alive, and to accuse him before Mummius of having been an enemy of the Romans, and of having always opposed their designs to the utmost of his power. This accusation was extravagant; but it had some colour, and was not entirely without foundation. Polybius warmly took upon him his defence. He represented Philopæmen as the greatest Captain Greece had produced in the latter times, who might some-
times

A. R. 606. times have carried his zeal for the liberty of his
 Ant. C. 146. country a little too far; but who, on many occasions, had rendered considerable services to the Roman People, as in the wars against Antiochus and the Ætolians. The Commissioners, before whom he pleaded so noble a cause, moved by his reasons, and still more by his gratitude for his master, decreed, that the statues of Philopæmen, in whatsoever city they were, should not be touched. Polybius, taking advantage of the good disposition of Mummius, demanded also the statues of Aratus and Achæus, which were granted him, though they had already been carried out of Peloponnesus into Acarnania. The Achæians were so charmed with the zeal, that Polybius had shewn upon this occasion for the honour of the great men of his country, that they erected a marble statue to himself.

Disinterestedness of the same Polybius. At the same time he gave a proof of his disinterestedness, which did him as much honour amongst his citizens, as his defence of Philopæmon's memory. After the destruction of Corinth, they proceeded to punish the authors of the insult committed upon the Roman Ambassadors, and their estates were sold by auction. When they came to those of Diæus, who had most share in it, the ten Commissioners ordered the Quæstor, who had the selling of them, to let Polybius take what he thought fit of those effects, without demanding or receiving any thing for them. He refused that offer, however advantageous it appeared, and should have believed himself in some sense an accomplice in that wretch's crimes, if he had accepted any part of his fortune: besides which he should have considered it as infamous to enrich himself with the spoils of his fellow citizens. He not only would accept nothing: he also exhorted his friends not to desire any thing that belonged

belonged to Diæus; and all those who followed his example were highly applauded. A. R. 606
Ant. C. 146

This whole conduct of Polybius made the Commissioners conceive so great an esteem for him, that on quitting Greece, they desired him to make the tour of all the cities lately conquered, and to accommodate their differences, till they should be accustomed to the changes that had been made, and the new laws given them. Polybius acquitted himself of so honourable a commission with so much goodness, justice and prudence, that every thing was made easy, every thing resumed a perfect tranquillity, whether in respect to the government in general, or private divisions. In acknowledgment for such signal services, statues were erected to him in different places, amongst which the base of one had this inscription: *That Greece would have committed no faults, if from the first it had been guided by the counsels of Polybius; but that after its faults, he alone had been its deliverer.* He establishes order and tranquillity in Achaia. Polyb. ibid.

Polybius, after having thus established order and tranquillity in his country, returned to join Scipio at Rome, from whence he followed him to Numantia, as he had accompanied him before to Carthage.

Metellus, on his return to Rome, was honoured with a triumph, as conqueror of Macedonia and Achaia, and he assumed the surname of *Macednoicus*. The impostor Andrisus was led before his chariot. Amongst the spoils appeared what was called *the Squadron of Alexander*. That Prince, at the battle of the Granicus, lost twenty-five brave horse of the chosen troops, which were called *the company of the King's friends*. He caused each of them to have an equestrian statue made by Lyfippus, the most excellent artist in that way, to which he added his own. These statues had been Triumphs of Metellus and Mummius.

A. R. 606.
Ant. C. 146.

been set up at Dium, a city of Macedonia. Metellus caused them to be carried to Rome, and adorned his triumph with them.

Mummius also obtained the honour of a triumph, and in his consequence of his conquest of Achaia, assumed the surname of *Achaicus*. He caused a great number of statues and paintings to be exhibited in his triumph, which were afterwards the ornament of the publick buildings of Rome, and several other cities of Italy; but not one of them entered the house of the triumpher.

BOOK THE TWENTY SEVENTH.

THE
ROMAN HISTORY.

THIS book contains the space of about twenty years. It includes principally the war with Viriathus, and the siege of Numantia: and lastly some detached facts till the commotions of the Gracchi.

S E C T. I.

Spain gives the Romans great pain and disquiet. They have several losses in Celtiberia. Several States of Spain send Deputies to Rome, to ask peace. Speech of the Deputies. The Senate refers them to Marcellus, but secretly decrees war. The Roman youth refuse to serve in Spain. Young Scipio offers his service, and draws all the youth after him. Marcellus concludes a peace with the Celtiberians. Cruel avarice of the Consul Lucullus. Siege and taking of Intercatia. Singular battle and victory of Scipio. Lucullus forms and raises the siege of Pallantia. The Prætor Galba is defeated in Lusitania. Detestable perfidy of that Prætor. Viriathus escapes being murdered. From a poor shepherd he becomes a terrible warrior. By various stratagems, in which he abounds,
he

he defeats the Romans on several occasions. The
 Consul Fabius Æmilianus marches against Viria-
 thus. A saying of Scipio's excludes the two Con-
 suls from the command of the armies. Fabius
 gains several advantages over Viriathus. Metel-
 lus makes war during two years with the Celtibe-
 rians. His constancy and humanity. A saying
 of his upon secrecy. Praise and character of Vi-
 riatheus. After having defeated the Consul Fabius,
 he retires into Lusitania. Q. Pompeius attains
 the Consulship by a bad stratagem. Excesses of
 Metellus, when he is informed, that Pompeius is
 to succeed him. Various expeditions of Pompeius
 of little consequence. Expeditions of Fabius into
 Hispania Ulterior. Peace concluded between Vi-
 riatheus and the Romans. That peace is broken.
 Viriathus by a stratagem evades the pursuit of Cæ-
 pio. He demands peace of him ineffectually. Cæ-
 pio, become odious to the whole army, runs a
 great risque. He causes Viriathus to be killed by
 treachery. His obsequies: his merit. Pompey
 ruins his troops by continuing the siege of Numan-
 tia during the winter. He concludes a treaty of
 peace with the Numantines. Pompey afterwards
 denies having made that treaty, and has interest
 enough to be acquitted at Rome. Example of se-
 verity against a deserter. The two Consuls im-
 prisoned by the Tribunes of the People. Constancy
 of the Consul Nasica in respect to the People.
 Brutus builds Valencia. He purges the province of
 robbers. Popilius defeated by stratagem before
 Numantia. Mancinus arrives before that city.
 He retires by night, and is pursued by the Numan-
 tines. He makes an infamous treaty negotiated by
 Tiberius. He is ordered to Rome. Mancinus
 and the Deputies of Numantia are heard in the
 Senate. Ti. Gracchus strongly supports the cause
 of Mancinus. The Consul Æmilius attacks the
 Vaccæi,

Vaccæi, besieges Pallantia, and is at length obliged to fly with precipitation. Success of Brutus in Spain. Passage of the river Lethe. It is decreed at Rome, that Mancinus should be delivered to the Numantines. They refuse to receive him. He returns to Rome. Noble confidence of the Consul Furius in his virtue. Scipio Æmilianus is elected Consul. Spain is given him for his province. He labours and succeeds in reforming his army. It assumes an entirely new aspect. Jugurtha comes to join Scipio. Marius serves under him. Scipio persists in refusing the Numantines battle. He draws lines of contravallation and circumvallation round the city. He shuts up the passage of the river Durius. Wonderful order that he establishes for being informed of every thing. Vain efforts of the Numantines. They implore aid of the Arvaci. Scipio severely punishes the city of Lútia. Generosity and disinterestedness of Scipio. The Numantines send to ask peace. Numantia massacres her Deputies. Famine makes horrible havoc in that place. It at length surrenders. Many kill themselves. Numantia is totally demolished. Triumphs of Scipio and Brutus. Reflexions upon the courage of the Numantines, and the ruin of Numantia. Private life of Scipio Africanus.

WHILST the Roman arms prospered in Spain Africa and Achaia, where they entirely ^{gives the} ruined Carthage and Corinth, they had not such ^{Romans} good success in Spain, which, though several ^{great trou-} times overcome, was never entirely reduced into ^{ble and} subjection. We have already observed elsewhere, that of all the provinces of the empire, this was that which submitted with most reluctance to the yoke, was always ready to revolt, and made the longest and most obstinate resistance. This is

the character, which (a) Horace gives it in more than one place, in extolling the victories gained by Augustus over the States of Spain, either in person or by his Lieutenants, and the glory which he had at length attained of subjecting it. At the time of which we are speaking, Spain found the Romans great employment. Viriathus, on one side, and the Numantines on the other, often defeated their armies, and covered their Generals with shame and disgrace. I shall not give the war with Viriathus and that with the Numantines two different names. As the duration of the first is contained in that of the second, and the events of both are intermixed in some degree, I shall comprize the whole under the name of the war of Spain. It was made on different sides during the space of twenty years, with some interruption, but always with animosity and inveteracy, which shews (b), that it was not a war of glory and ambition, but of enmity and hatred, which could only terminate with the ruin of one of the two nations. This war ended with the entire destruction of Numantia.

A. R. 598.
Ant. C. 154.

Q. OPIMIUS.

L. POSTUMIUS.

A victory gained by the Lusitanians over the Prætor Calpurnius Piso, animated the neighbouring States, drew them all up into a revolt, and made them take arms against the Romans.

The fear lest this insurrection might have unhappy consequences, occasioned the election and

(a) Cantabrum indoctum juga ferre nostra, *Od.* vi. l. ii. Cantaber serâ domitus catena, *Od.* viii. l. iii. Cantaber non antè domabilis, *Od.* xiv. l. iv. (b) Cum Celtiberis bellum, ut cum inimicis, gerebatur, uter esset, non uter imperaret. *Offic.* i. 38.

depar-

departure of the Consuls to take place sooner than usual. A. R. 598.
Ant. C. 154.

Q. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.

A. R. 599.
Ant. C. 153.

T. ANNIUS LUSCUS.

The Consuls entered upon office no longer on the fifteenth of March, as had been the antient custom, but on the first of January. And this example became the rule.

Fulvius, having Spain for his province, marched against the Celtiberians called *Belli*. That people occupied Segeda, a very strong and powerful city, and fortified it extremely, notwithstanding express prohibitions of the Senate. When they were informed of the Consul's approach, who advanced at the head of an army of thirty thousand men, not having time to compleat their fortifications, they retired with their wives and children into the country of the Arvaci, whose principal city was Numantia, imploring their aid against the common enemy. The latter placed Carus, a citizen of Segeda, at the head of their troops, one of the most able Captains of the country. Having laid ambuscades for the Romans, he attacked them with twenty thousand foot, and five thousand horse. The action was very warm, and the success doubtful. Each side lost six thousand men. The Arvaci retired the following night into Numantia. The Consul followed them thither the next day, and incamped three miles from the city. A second battle ensued. The Romans had the advantage at first, and pursued the enemy to the gates of Numantia. But the elephants, which Masinissa had sent them, having turned against themselves, the Numantines, who saw that the Roman troops were in disorder, sallied out of the city, attacked them vigorously,

A. R. 599. and killed them above four thousand men. They
 Ant. C. 153. lost on their side near half that number. The
 Romans had still some other bad successes. Ocilis,
 a famous city of the country, where the Consul
 had deposited his money and provisions, surren-
 dered to the Celtiberians.

App. ibid. The Prætor L. Mummius in Hispania Ulterior
 received at first a considerable blow. But after-
 wards, having been taught by his disgrace, he
 gained many advantages, which, though not
 decisive acquired him the honour of a triumph.
 It was this Mummius, who in his Consulship, of
 which we have spoken already, took and destroyed
 Corinth.

A. R. 600. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS III.
 Ant. C. 152. L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

Several
 States of
 Spain send
 Deputies
 to Rome,
 to ask
 peace.
 Appian. The Consul Marcellus had no great success a-
 gainst the Celtiberians. He however retook the
 city of Ocilis, from which he demanded hostages,
 and thirty talents of silver, (about thirty thou-
 sand crowns.) Whilst he was preparing to be-
 siege Nergobrix, the inhabitants sent Deputies to
 him to demand peace upon such conditions as he
 should think fit. He replied, that they had no
 peace to hope, unless the Arvaci and Celtiberians
 surnamed *Belli* joined with them in making the
 same demand. Those People made no difficulty
 to consent to this. The Consul granted them a
 truce, in order to give them time to apply to the
 Senate. Other States, in the alliance of Rome,
 sent also their Deputies thither, to oppose the de-
 mand of the first, not believing themselves safe
 unless covered by the Roman arms.

Marcellus took up his winter-quarters in a place
 called Corduba, situated upon the river Boetis in
 an extremely fertile country. He enlarged the
 place,

place, and fortified it so that he was considered as its founder. And this is the origin of the colony of Cordova. A. R. 600.
Ant. C. 152.

Mummius having quitted Lusitania, to go to Rome to demand a triumph, the Prætor M. Atilius took upon him the government of that province in his room. The new General, after some slight successes, having retired with his troops into winter-quarters, the revolt became almost general amongst those States, and they attacked some cities, which had declared for the Romans.

A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.

A. R. 601.

L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.

Ant. C. 151.

In the mean time the Deputies of whom we have spoken arrived at Rome. Those who were the allies of the Roman People, were received into the city: as to the Arvaci, who were considered as enemies, they were ordered to remain beyond the Tiber, till they should be sent for. The Consul introduced them soon to an audience of the Senate. All Barbarians as they were, they gave a very clear and judicious account of the different factions of their country. "They represented, that if those who had taken arms against the Romans, were not punished with severity, they would not fail, as soon as the Consul's army should remove, to fall upon the allies of the Romans, and to treat them as traitors to their country; and that on the first advantage they should have, it would be easy for them to draw all Spain into their party. They demanded in consequence, either that an army should always continue in Spain, and that a Consul should be sent every year to protect the allies, and cover them from the insults of the Arvaci; or before the legions should be re-called, that the

Discourse of the Deputies.
Polyb. Legat. 142.
Appian.

A. R. 609
Ant. C. 151.

“rebellion of the Arvaci should be so severely punished, as to deter all those who should be tempted to follow their example.”

Audience was afterwards given to the Arvaci. Though they affected a kind of humiliation in their words, it was not difficult to perceive, that they did not believe themselves overcome, and that their hearts were not of accord with this outside of submission. “They magnified the advantages they had gained in several battles, and put the Romans in mind of the inconstancy of fortune. They declared however, that if any penalty were laid upon them, they should willingly undergo it; provided that after having thereby expiated the fault, which they might have committed through inadvertency, they should be re-established in the same rights, which Ti. Gracchus had granted them by the treaty he had made with them.”

The Senate refers them to Marcellus; but secretly give orders for war.

When the Senate had heard the Deputies of Marcellus, knowing by their discourse, and the General's own letters, that he openly inclined to peace, they did not think it proper to explain themselves to the Ambassadors of the Spaniards, and contented themselves with answering, that Marcellus would inform them of the Senate's intentions. But at the same time, convinced that the interest of the allies, and the glory of the Commonwealth, required, that they should act with vigour, they gave orders secretly to the Proconsul's Deputies, who were setting out for Spain, to inform him, that he was to make war against the Arvaci with a vigour and in a manner worthy of the Roman name.

The Roman youth refuse to serve in Spain.

As they relied but little upon the courage of Marcellus, they thought of sending him a successor with new troops as soon as possible. The Consuls wanted neither zeal nor ardor, but when the question

tion was to make the levies, difficulties arose, <sup>A. R. 601.
Ant. C. 151.</sup> which surprized the more, as they were least expected. It had been told at Rome by Q. Fulvius, and the soldiers who had served under him in Spain, that they had been obliged to be almost always under arms; that they had innumerable battles to fight and sustain; that an infinite number of Romans had perished in them; that the courage of the Celtiberians was invincible: and that Marcellus trembled for fear he should be ordered to make war longer against them. This news occasioned so great a consternation amongst the youth, that in the sense of the oldest Romans, the like had never been known. Instead of more Tribunes than were necessary as formerly, nobody stood for that employment. The persons whom the Consul charged with the war in Spain appointed their Lieutenants, refused to follow him. What was most deplorable, the youth themselves, tho' cited according to custom, would not list.

The Senate and Consuls, terrified at so strange ^{young} and so unexpected an event, did not know what ^{Scipio of-} measures to take, finding, in such a conjuncture, ^{fers his} both severity and lenity equally dangerous. Scipio ^{services,} Africanus, who was then scarce thirty years old, ^{and brings} and was the only intrepid and obedient person of ^{over all} all that timorous and indocile youth, on this occa- ^{the youth} sion shewed his courage, and from thenceforth that ^{with him.} he was born either to sustain the glory or obliterate the disgrace of the Roman name. He rose up, and said; that he would go and serve the Commonwealth in Spain, either as Tribune, or in any other rank that should be assigned him. "That he was invited to go to Macedonia in a function, wherein he should incur less danger;" (the Macedonians having demanded him by name for appeasing some troubles that had arose in the country :) "but that he could not abandon

A. R. 601.
Ant. C. 151.

the Commonwealth in such a pressing conjuncture, which called all those into Spain, that "had any regard for true glory." This discourse surprized, and charmed. The heir of the Scipios and Æmilii was with joy discerned in this generous resolution. Every body ran immediately to embrace him. The next day the applauses redoubled. How efficacious good example is, was then seen. Those who before were afraid to list, now apprehending that the comparison which would not fail to be made between Scipio's courage and their fear, would reflect disgrace upon them, were eager either to sollicite military employments, or to cause themselves to be entered for the service.

This generous zeal of young Scipio very naturally calls to mind that which his grandfather by adoption, the first Scipio Africanus, shewed in a like conjuncture, and in respect to the same province.

Marcellus concludes a peace with the Celtiberians.
Appian. de Bell. Hisp. 283.

Whilst all this passed at Rome, the Proconsul Marcellus, more cunning than brave, desiring extremely to terminate the war before the arrival of his successor, to disengage himself from dangers, and at the same time to secure to himself the glory of having established peace in Spain, engaged the Celtiberians, by insinuation and caresses, to make peace. The treaty was concluded, and it was agreed, "That the Celtiberians, after they had given hostages and paid the sum of six hundred talents (about six hundred thousand crowns) should live according to their own laws; and be deemed the friends and allies of the Roman People."

Cruel avarice of the Consul Lucullus.
App. 283.

The Consul Lucullus was charged with the war of Spain, and went thither with design to make his advantage of the spoils of so rich a province. On his arrival he saw with grief, that peace was concluded

concluded with the Celtiberians. He did not dare to infringe a treaty just made, and turned his views a different way. He resolved to attack the Vaccæi, neighbours of the Arvaci, though he had neither the Senate's orders, nor any just pretext for making war against them. He however laid siege to Cauca, one of their principal cities. After a slight and short defence, the inhabitants surrendered. He required hostages of them, with an hundred talents, and that their horse should enter into the service of the Romans. He also introduced a garrison of two thousand men into the city. The Caucaei refused him nothing. The garrison immediately opened the gates to the whole army, which put all the youth capable of bearing arms to the sword: twenty thousand of them were killed. The old men, women and children were sold into captivity; and scarce any one could escape. The report of so barbarous an execution spread terror throughout the whole country, and caused the Roman name to be abhorred and detested every where.

From thence Lucullus marched into *Intercatia*, another very strong city of the Vaccæi, where the Spaniards had twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse. The Consul exhorting them to surrender upon reasonable conditions, they replied with insult, *We must then forget the proof of your faith, which you gave at Cauca.* The besieged frequently skirmished, but avoided coming to a general battle. A Spaniard, one of the principal persons of the country, of an extraordinary stature, and covered with shining arms, presented himself in the front of the Roman army, challenging the bravest amongst them to single combat; and as no one dared to accept the challenge, he insulted the whole army with an air of contempt and ridicule. Young Scipio, who served under
Lucul-

A. R. 601.
Ant. C. 151.

*Siege and
taking of
Intercatia.*

*Single com-
bat and
victory of
Scipio.*

A. R. 607.
Ant. C. 151.

Lucullus in the quality of Tribune, not being able to bear so gross an indignity, advanced boldly, and when they came to blows, ran his enemy through, and laid him dead at his feet. After this glorious victory, the Romans thought only of pressing the siege. Scipio gave new proofs of his intrepid valour on this occasion, being the first that mounted the wall, when the assault was given to the place. It however was not carried. The siege afterwards being spun out to a great length, and sickness spreading amongst the troops on both sides, an accommodation was proposed. The besieged would confide only in the promise of Scipio. The agreement was made. The inhabitants supplied the Consul with ten thousand coats for soldiers, a certain number of great and small cattle, with fifty hostages: this had been stipulated. For as to gold and silver, the sole things Lucullus sought in this country, there was none to be had. He paid Scipio all the honours due to him in the presence of the army, and adorned him with a mural crown. It is by such degrees persons at length attain the first rank, and it is in this manner that great men are formed.

*Lucullus
forms and
raises the
siege of
Pallantia.
Appian.*

Lucullus, whose hopes had been frustrated at the siege of Intercatia, sought to make himself amends by attacking Pallantia, a very strong and opulent city. It was represented to him, that this enterprise, in that season of the year, might become very dangerous: but avarice has no regard to wise counsels. He at length perceived the truth of them, but to his shame, being obliged to raise the siege for want of provisions. The besieged pursued and harrassed him in his march, till he arrived at the river Durus. The Spaniards having retired, the Consul removed into Turdetania, to pass the winter-quarters there.

On

On the side of Hispania Ulterior, that is in Lusitania, the Prætor Ser. Sulpicius Galba, who succeeded M. Atilius, having made a forced march to aid allies who were much pressed, arrived very opportunely near the enemy, and attacked and put them to flight. However his troops, being extremely fatigued, not having had a moment's rest, did not pursue them with any vigour, and halted from time to time. The enemy perceived this, faced about, attacked the Romans who could scarce carry their arms with vigour, and killed them about seven thousand men. Galba could not undertake any thing afterwards, and put his troops into winter-quarters, till Lucullus came to second him.

A. R. 601.
Ant. C. 151.
The Præ-
to Galba
is defeated
in Lusita-
nia.

We have said, that Lucullus passed his winter-quarters in Turdetania. Having perceived, that the troops of the Lusitanians, which were in the neighbourhood, observed no discipline, he sent a considerable strong detachment against them, and killed four thousand of them. He attacked the army of the same enemy near Cadiz, and destroyed fifteen thousand of them, pushed the rest to an eminence, where soon after, for want of provisions, they were obliged to surrender. He found no farther resistance in Lusitania, after these successes, and ravaged the whole country with impunity.

This example gave Galba, courage, and he did the same on his side, carrying fire and sword every where: which made the revolted people return to their duty, at least in appearance. They demanded of Galba to be admitted into the amity of the Roman People, upon the same conditions as M. Atilius had prescribed the year before. Galba, concealing a black and detestable design under a gracious and obliging outside, professed "to take compassion of their condition, and to be sorry
" to

Galba's
detestable
perfidy.
App. in
Hisp. 288.

A. R. 601.
Ant. C. 151.

“to see, that rather through necessity than
 “malignity they were reduced to rob and pillage.
 “That he rightly perceived, it was want and
 “poverty, that forced them to follow this kind of
 “life. That he could, if that seemed convenient,
 “and they would truly become friends of the Ro-
 “man People, place them in a better soil, and
 “settle them more to their advantage; by divid-
 “ing them however into three bodies, because he
 “had not at his disposal a sufficient tract of good
 “land to contain them all together.” The air of
 goodness and fidelity, with which he spoke to
 them, persuaded them. They accepted his pro-
 posal, removed into the three places he pointed out
 to them, that were separate from each other, and
 waited there according to his orders, till he should
 return. After this, he went to the first, and pre-
 tending to consider them for the future as friends,
 he induced them to put their arms, for which they
 had no farther occasion, into his hands, which they
 made no difficulty to do. After having thus dis-
 armed them he surrounded them with intrench-
 ments, and caused them to be massacred, whilst
 they vainly implored the wrath and vengeance of the
 gods against such perfidy. He did the same in re-
 spect to the second, and then to the third. Few
 escaped the slaughter, of which number was
 Viriathus, no doubt reserved by an express order
 of the Divine Providence not to suffer a crime, so
 contrary to all laws human and divine, to pass
 with impunity even upon earth. Authors do not
 agree amongst themselves concerning the number
 of those who perished on this occasion, some
 making it amount only to nine thousand, and others
 to thirty thousand. Probably the latter have added
 those who were killed, to those who were sold.
 Galba distributed a very small part of the plunder

*Viriathus
 escapes a
 general
 massacre.*

to the army : his insatiable avarice engrossed all the rest. A. R. 601.
Ant. C. 151.

On his return to Rome, he was accused before the People for this horrible murder. Cato was his strongest and most formidable adversary. I shall give the reader all that relates to this trial in the sequel.

L. MARCIUS.

A. R. 603.
Ant. C. 149.

M. MANILIUS.

The bloody execution of Galba did not terminate the war in Lusitania. The Romans soon paid for the perfidy of which they had been guilty with their blood and defeats. Could one believe that a man of nothing, a descendant from the lowest condition of mankind, could ever form the design of making war with the most powerful people of the earth. This however Viriathus, the Spaniard did, who had escaped the cruelty of Galba. Every instrument suffices in the hands of God, when it is his will to chastise men, and to evidence his justice. Viriathus, from a shepherd become a hunter, and from a hunter an robber, had long inured himself in the forests to an hard and laborious life with other mountainers, all men of bravery, and bold like himself, without fortune or hopes, living only from the point of the sword, accustomed to fall suddenly from the tops of their mountains upon travellers, and to disappear instantly ; in a word, continually exercised in the greatest danger and rudest fatigues. His troops insensibly, through the reputation of their Captain, which increased every day, augmented so much, that it became an army, with which he had the courage to make head against the Generals of the Roman People, as we are going to see. Viriathus
from a
shepherd
becomes a
terrible
warrior.
App. in
His. p. 289.

A. R. 603.

Ant. C. 149.

By various

stratagems

in which

he abounds,

he defeats

the Ro-

mans on

several

occasions.

Appian.

The army of the Lusitanians, composed of ten thousand men, ravaged Turditanian. The Prætor C. Vitellius arrived opportunely, and attacked them so vigorously, that he killed a great number of them, and drove the rest into a place, where it seemed impossible for them to continue without perishing of hunger, nor remove without being cut in pieces by the enemy. In this extremity, they sent Deputies to the Prætor, to entreat him, "that he would grant them lands which they might cultivate, and where they might settle: "that in acknowledgment they would employ "their arms in the service of the Roman People, "to whom they would become most zealous and "faithful allies." Vitellius relished this proposal very much, and the treaty was upon the point of being concluded, when Viriathus addressed himself to his comrades to the following effect: *Are you then ignorant with what men you are going to treat? Have you forgot, that the Romans are never to be feared more, than when they profess favour? And will you by a blind and imprudent temerity, expose yourselves to a bloody massacre, like that which under Galba has deprived us of so many brave companions? If you will give ear to and obey me, I well know how to extricate you out of the danger, that now makes you desperate.* He had no occasion to say more: they all swore obedience to him that instant.

He immediately drew up his troops, as if to give battle. He chose a thousand horse to accompany him. And gave orders to the rest, as soon as they should see him mount on horseback, to fly immediately, dispersing on several sides, and to meet him at the city of Tribola. The Prætor surprized and disconcerted, did not dare to pursue them, apprehending, that the troops which remained would fall upon his rear. He therefore turned

turned all his forces against Viriathus. But the latter, by the swiftness of his horses, avoided all his attacks, sometimes seeming to fly, and sometimes making a feint of advancing against him. By this conduct, he kept the Romans that and the following day in the same place. When he judged that the rest of the troops were arrived in a safe post, he retired in the night thro' tracks unknown to others, but very familiar to him, and escaped the Romans, whom the ignorance of the ways, the weight of their arms, and the little speediness of their horse, prevented from pursuing him long and vigorously. The good success of this stratagem acquired him great reputation, and much augmented his authority. Numbers came from all sides to list under his banners.

The Prætor, knowing that Viriathus was at Tribola, marched against him. It was necessary to pass a forest. The new Spanish General laid an ambuscade there, and having shewn himself with a small number of troops, fled precipitately as if through fear, and drew on the Prætor into marshy places. Viriathus easily extricated himself out of them by ways which he knew; but this was not the case with the Romans, upon whom the troops in ambush fell that moment, charging them on the flanks and in the rear. Vetilius was killed. Four thousand Romans either lost their lives or were taken prisoners. Six thousand retreated to * Carpestus with the Quæstor; who not relying much upon troops discouraged by their defeat, had recourse to the neighbouring States in alliance with Rome. They sent him five thousand men, whom Viriathus entirely cut to pieces, almost not a single man escaping.

* Appian believes this to be lived an hundred and fifty the city of Tartessus, where years, reigned. Arganthonius, said to have

A. R. 604.
Ant. C. 148.

SP. POSTUMIUS.

L. CALPURNIUS PISO.

Diod. a-
pud Valef.
346.

C. Plautius, who succeeded Vetilius, and had brought with him ten thousand foot and thirteen hundred horse, was not more successful. In a first action, wherein Viriathus had laid an ambuscade, he lost four thousand men, and almost all the rest of his troops in a second. At his return to Rome, he was accused before the People, as having occasioned these losses by his ill conduct, and banished.

Front.
Strat. iii.
10.

The inhabitants of Segobriga suffered themselves to be twice deceived by the stratagems of Viriathus. Seeing a small number of soldiers driving cattle, they sent out a considerable detachment against them, which fell into an ambuscade, and was entirely defeated. Some time after, having removed three days march from Segobriga, and thereby inspired the inhabitants with a false security, he returned suddenly, in a single day, and surprized the city, which did not expect to be attacked in so short a time.

Ibid. II.

A. R. 607.
Ant. C. 145.

He had many other successes: and besides the two Prætors, of whom we have just been speaking, History also mentions Claudius Unimanus and Nigidius Figulus, whose defeat added new glory to the arms of Viriathus. The Senate at length perceived, that they had a serious war in hand, and that it was necessary to send a Consul with considerable forces into these provinces to reduce an enemy, that at first seemed only worthy of contempt.

Q. FABIUS ÆMILIUS.

A. R. 607.

L. HOSTILIUS MANCINIUS.

Ant. C. 145.

The province of Spain fell to Fabius, who was the son of Paulus Æmilius, and the elder brother of the second Scipio Africanus. He carried with him only new raised men; because it was judged reasonable to let the soldiers, who had served in Africa, Greece, and Macedonia, enjoy the repose they had so well deserved. The number of troops who followed him into Spain amounted to fifteen thousand foot, and near two thousand horse. When he arrived, he gave the care of forming them by continual exercises for all the functions of war to his Lieutenants, whilst he went to Cadiz to offer a sacrifice to Hercules, who was considered as the first of the family of the Fabii. Mistaken religion! He had done better not to have quitted his army, where his duty required his presence. During his absence, the enemy defeated one of his Lieutenants, and took great spoils from him. This news hastened his return. Viriathus, haughty, from the victory he had lately gained, offered Fabius battle every day. But the latter, firm and unalterable to the resolution he had formed of not venturing a general action, contented himself with slight skirmishes, to form and re-animate his troops by degrees, who were void of experience, and much intimidated by their defeat. He accompanied them in person in foraging, to prevent surprizes by an enemy fruitful in stratagems, and whose vigilance nothing escaped.

*The Consul
Fabius Æ-
milianus
marches
against
Viriathus.*

A. R. 608.
Ant. C. 144.

SER. Sulpicius Galba. A. 21. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 8

An expres-
sion of Sci-
pio's ex-
cludes the
two Con-
suls from
the com-
mand of the
armies.
Val. Max.
vi. 4.

Both the new Consuls extremely desired to command in Spain, and their debates upon this head divided the whole Senate. Scipio's opinion, whose quite recent glory of having destroyed Carthage gave him great authority, was expected with impatience. *I think, says he, that both ought to be excluded; because the one has nothing, and nothing will satisfy the other.* If this was the Cotta, as is highly probable *, who ten years before would have avoided paying his debts under the refuge of the Tribunitian power, with which he was then invested, Scipio's censure was perfectly well applied. As to Galba, he was the person, who had treacherously massacred the Lusitanians.

Fabius gains several advantages over Viriathus.
App. 291

The command was in consequence continued to Fabius, who this year reaped the fruits of the wise conduct he had before pursued, and the strictness with which he had caused discipline to be observed in his army. The soldiers, formed by his care, and still more animated by his example than his discourse, were quite changed. They feared the enemy no longer; and were not averse to a battle. Viniathus perceived this plainly. His pride and boldness began to abate after he had been defeated on several occasions. This campaign was as glorious for the Romans as the preceding had been ignominious to them, and re-established their reputation. Fabius put his troops into winter-quarters at Corduba, which I shall call *Cordova* in the sequel.

* This fact will be spoken of elsewhere.

AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

Q. CÆCILIUS METEL. MACEDON.

A. R. 609.

Ant. C. 143.

Viriathus, taught by his defeats, did not confide in his own forces, but sought aid from his neighbours. He sent Deputies to the Arvaci, the Tithi and the Belli, who since the peace made eight years before with Marcellus, did not seem to have moved; and engaged them to take up arms against the Romans, and join him. Viriathus's plan succeeded wonderfully. It discharged him from the greatest part of the weight of the war. Only a Prætor was sent against him, whilst the Consul Metellus marched against the Celtiberians. Most historians make *the War of Numantia*, the principal city of the country of the Arvaci, as we have already said, begin here.

Metellus made war in Spain during two years with great success, the particulars of which are not come down to us. For want of a circumstantial account of his exploits, authors have preserved what is of no less value, strokes that characterize him, and give us room to consider him as a person of very exalted merit.

Metellus makes war during two years with the Celtiberians.

He was a man of constancy and severity in command. When he besieged Contrebia, an important city in the country of the Celtiberians, five Roman cohorts gave way upon an occasion, and abandoned the post he had assigned them. Metellus commanded them to return to it immediately, giving orders at the same time to the rest of the army to treat as enemies, and to kill whoever should fly for safety to the camp. So rigorous an order extremely alarmed the soldiers of those cohorts, and they all made their wills as going to certain death. The General continued inflexi-

His constancy. Val. Max. ii. 7.

A. R. 609. ble; (a) and his constancy proved successful. The
 Ant. C. 143. soldiers, who went to battle expecting nothing but
 death, returned victorious. Such force has the
 sense of shame, when united with fear, and such
 courage does despair sometimes impart.

His huma-
 nity.

Val. Max.
 x. 1.

The steadiness of Metellus did not however de-
 generate into rigour and cruelty: and he was sen-
 sible to humanity to such a degree, as to give it a
 preference to the hope of victory. He had made
 a breach in the walls of Nergobriga; and the be-
 sieged seeing themselves upon the point of being
 forced, thought it adviseable to place upon the
 breach the children of Rhetogenes, an illustrious
 Celtiberian, who had quitted his countrymen to
 adhere to the Romans. The father was not with-
 held by seeing the danger and death of his chil-
 dren, and pressed the General to give the assault.
 Metellus refused it, and chose rather to renounce a
 certain conquest, than to destroy innocent victims.
 He accordingly raised the siege of Nergobriga.
 But if he omitted taking one city, he found full
 amends in the voluntary submission of many others,
 which opened their gates with joy to an enemy of
 so much clemency and generosity.

A saying of
 his upon
 secrecy.

Auctor. de
 vir. illust.

He had besides another quality highly impor-
 tant in the conduct of great affairs; this was se-
 crecy. One day, on being asked by a friend,
 what he was going to undertake, *I would burn my
 vest*, replied he, *if I thought it knew my designs*.

With these talents, and by this conduct, Metellus
 gained great advantages over the Celtiberians.
 But the Prætor Quintius, who had succeeded
 Fabius in the command in Lusitania, had not the
 same success. He had however gained advantages

(a) Perseverantia ducis quem effecit mixtus timori pudor,
 moriturum miserat, militem spesque desperatione quæsitâ.
 victorem recepit. Tantum Vell. ii. 5.

at first, having put Viriathus to flight, and obliged him to retreat to a mountain, where he kept him blocked up in a very narrow compass. But that artful Spaniard having fallen suddenly upon him at a time when he was not very vigilantly upon his guard, killed him abundance of men, took many ensigns, and pursued the Romans quite to their camp.

A. R. 609.
Ant. C. 143.
The mountain of Venus.

The Reader may with reason be surprized to see a man of neither birth nor education, as we have observed elsewhere, without support or protection, who is at the head of troops by a means entirely extraordinary and without the sanction of publick authority, sustain during several years the weight of the Roman arms with honour. His personal merit supplied him with all that he wanted in other respects. He had intrepid valour, wonderful sagacity, a perfect knowledge of the art military, an extraordinary capacity for the stratagems of war, and a patience of proof against the rudest fatigues, which a robust body and long habit of living had enabled him to support. With these qualities he had humanity, moderation and justice. He equally divided the plunder acquired by the method of arms between those who adhered to him. Whatever riches fell into his power, he never thought of appropriating them to himself. After having gained so many victories, he always continued what he had been in his first campaigns: he had the same arms, the same habit, and the same outside in every thing. No feast, no rejoicing, not even that of Nuptials so legitimate and allowable, made him change any thing in his usual manner of life. He always stood at table, ate only bread and coarse meats, leaving those that were more delicate to his guests. By this regular and temperate life, he retained a sound and vigorous body to the last, a mind always capable of apply-

Character and praise of Viriathus.
Freinshem. liii.

De Offic. ii. 40.

A. R. 609.
Ant. C. 143.

ing to affairs, and a virtue and reputation exempt from all reproach.

A. R. 610.
Ant. C. 142.

L. METELLUS CALVUS.

Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS SERVILIANUS.

Viriathus, after having defeated the Consul Fabius, retires into Lusitania.
App. 280.

Fabius had Hispania Ulterior for his province. His army consisted of eighteen thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse. As he was hastening his march to Ituca in Bœtica with part of his troops, Viriathus advanced to meet him with six thousand men, all veteran soldiers, and accustomed to conquer. The Romans found no small difficulty in sustaining their first charge: they however maintained their ground, and the Consul pursued his march. The rest of the army having joined him with ten elephants and three hundred horse, which Micipsa King of Numidia had sent him, he attacked Viriathus, defeated and put him to flight. But the Spaniard, whose attention nothing escaped, having observed disorder amongst the troops that pursued him, faced about against them, defeated them, killed three thousand, and pursued the rest to the gates of the camp, where the Romans shut themselves up, and neither the Consul, nor the rest of the officers could prevail upon them to march out against the enemy. Night put an end to the battle. Viriathus, after having long harassed the Consul, sometimes in the night and sometimes in the heat of the day, and having made him suffer extremely, retired into Lusitania.

A. R. 611.
Ant. C. 141.

Q. POMPEIUS.

C. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.

Q. Pompeius attains the Consulship by a mean artifice.

Q. Pompeius, was the first of his name and family, that raised himself to the great offices.

The Nobility of the house of the *Pompeii*, which A. R. 611.
Ant. C. 141. will soon become so powerful, and will hold the first rank in Rome, is of no antienter date.

The manner, in which he of whom we are speaking attained the Consulship does his probity and sincerity no great honour. Lælius stood for this office, supported with the whole credit of Scipio. Pompeius, whom they reckoned in the number of their friends, concealed the design he also had of asking the Consulship, and even promised to join them in soliciting for Lælius. But instead of taking pains for the latter, he acted strenuously for himself: and succeeded so well, that he supplanted Lælius, and was elected Consul. He thereby lost Scipio's friendship, that was a much more valuable good than the Consulship, especially acquired by treachery.

He also succeeded in having the command of the army in Hispania Citerior conferred upon him in the room of Q. Metellus, who was his particular enemy. Metellus was highly incensed at this, and proceeded to excesses, that extremely fully the praises history has hitherto given him. To prevent his enemy's having any advantage from his labours, he was not afraid to prejudice the publick affairs and the service of the Commonwealth. He diminished his army, by given discharges to all that demanded them: he ruined the magazines he had made for ammunition and provisions: he caused the bows and arrows of the Cretans, that served as auxiliaries in his troops, to be thrown into the river: he ordered that no provender should be given to the elephants. Deplorable example of the weakness of human virtues! They hold good against ordinary attacks, and in consequence long seem pure and irreproveable. But as soon as the ruling passion comes in play; as soon

Excesses committed by Metellus when he is informed that Pompeius is to succeed him.
Val. Max. ix. 3.

A. R. 671. as the weak part of the soul is attacked, they de-
 Ant. C. 141. liver up their arms: every thing is in disorder,
 every thing is inverted; and it then evidently
 appears, that it was not virtue that was adhered to,
 but the splendor and homage which attend the prac-
 tice of it.

Metellus, in desiring to hurt his enemy, hurt
 himself very much: he sullied the glory of his
 exploits in Spain, which were great, and deprived
 himself of the triumph that was to have been the
 reward of them.

*Different
 expeditions
 of Q. Pom-
 peius little
 considera-
 ble.*

Q. Pompeius was not so capable of conducting
 a war as managing an intrigue. On arriving in
 his province, notwithstanding all the ill-will of
 Metellus, he found himself at the head of an army
 of thirty thousand foot, and two thousand horse.
 He no doubt brought with him a considerable rein-
 forcement. But he was far from doing all the ser-
 vice with that army, that might be expected from
 it.

Diod. ap.
 Fulv. Ur-
 sin.

The Arvaci, probably terrified by the number
 of these troops, had sent Deputies to the Consul to
 treat of peace with him, and all the conditions of
 it were settled, the principal of which were; that
 they should put Termetta and Numantia, the
 strongest places of the country, into the hands of
 the Romans, and should deliver up all their
 arms. But when they came to the execution of
 this last article, it appeared so unworthy and
 shameful, that looking upon each other, they
 asked whether they could live without arms, and
 without honour. Their very wives and children,
 transported with grief and indignation, made them
 the sharpest reproaches, and declared, that it
 would not be possible for them to acknowledge
 them any longer either as husbands or fathers, if
 they were capable of such meanness. In conse-
 quence the treaty was broken.

Pompey

Pompey then formed the siege of Numantia. A. R. 6Yr. Ant. C. 141. But disgusted by difficulties, which he found in it contrary to his expectation, he soon after raised the siege; and made his army invest Termantia expecting to carry it with more ease. The success did not answer his hopes. He was more fortunate in the expedition he undertook against a great body of robbers, who ravaged Sedetania, of whom he purged the whole country.

He afterwards besieged Lanci. The Numantines sent four hundred youth to the aid of that neighbouring and allied city. The besieged received them with all possible marks of joy, as their preservers. Some time after finding themselves very much pressed, they offered to surrender, demanded no condition, but to have their lives spared. The Romans insisting, that the Numantines should be delivered up to them, they at first strongly refused to hearken to that proposal. But being at length in want of every thing, and perswading themselves that necessity had no law, they let the Romans know secretly, that they were determined to do what they required of them. The Numantines were informed of this. Being desirous, that so shameful a treachery should not pass with impunity, they attacked the inhabitants in the night, and put many to the sword: the fight was rude and bloody. The Consul, informed by the noise occasioned by this tumult, took the advantage of it for scaling the walls, and made himself master of the place. All the inhabitants were put to the sword. He gave the Numantines who remained to the number of two hundred, liberty to return home: whether he was moved with compassion for the unhappy fate of those brave men, whose service and zeal had been repaid only with ingratitude; or designed by that act of clemency to dispose the inha-

Diod. ap. Valef. 358

A. R. 611.
App. C. 341.

Expeditions of Fabius into Hispania Ulterior.
App. 293.

Peace concluded between Viriathus and the Romans.
Id. p. 294.

inhabitants of Numantia to submit to the Romans. In Hispania Ulterior, the Proconsul Fabius Servilianus, who had been continued in the command, took some places garrisoned by Viriathus, and a famous chief of the robbers, called Connobas, who surrendered himself to him with all his troop. Only the chief was spared: Fabius caused the right hands of all his soldiers to be cut off: a treatment which appeared unjust and cruel: because they had surrendered upon the Proconsul's faith.

He afterwards led his army to Erisana, which he besieged. Viriathus having found means to get into the place in the night, without being perceived by the Romans, made a rude sally upon them the next morning, in which he killed them abundance of men, and pushed them to a post from whence it was difficult for the army to get off. (a) Viriathus did not forget himself in good fortune; he did not suffer himself to be dazzled with so soothing an advantage, but considered it as a favourable occasion for making a good peace with the Romans. Accordingly a treaty was concluded to the following effect, *That there should be peace and amity between the Roman People and Viriathus, and that both sides should retain what they actually possessed.* This treaty, though not much for the honour of the Roman name, was ratified by the People; so burthenfome did the war of Spain seem to them.

(a) Τὸν ἡττοχίαν ἐκ ὀφείλου. fortune, to consider it as obliged to attend us always, as if fortune. It is daring good in our pay and at our disposal.

C. LÆLIUS SAPIENS.

Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.

A. R. 612.
Ant. C. 140.

Hispania Ulterior fell to Cæpio, who was the brother of Fabius Servilianus, and the command in Hispania Citerior was continued to Q. Pompeius.

As soon as Cæpio was arrived in his province, he wrote to the Senate, that the treaty concluded by his brother with Viriathus, dishonoured the Roman People. The Senate by their answer gave him permission to distress Viriathus as much as possible, but without noise. Not satisfied with this tacit permission, he returned to the charge, and insisted so often and so strongly, that the Senate at length consented, that he should make open war against Viriathus. With politicians treaties and oaths pass for nothing, when they become incommodious, and do not suit their views.

That peace is broken.
App. ibid.

Viriathus, not being in a condition to oppose the Consul's army, quitted Arsa, where he was when he received this news, and made great marches before him, ravaging all the places thro' which he passed, to retard the pursuit of Cæpio. The latter could not come up with him till he came to the frontiers of Carpetania. The Spaniard had recourse to his usual stratagems. Having chosen all his swiftest horse, he drew them up in battle upon an eminence, as if he was preparing to give battle, and in the mean time he made the rest of his troops file off through a dark winding valley, whilst the detachment he was drawing up covered their retreat. When he believed them far enough before, he set out himself full speed, well assured that the swiftness of his horses would make the enemy incapable of coming up with him, however near they were. Accordingly they could not

Viriathus escapes the pursuit of Cæpio by stratagem.
Ibid.

A. R. 612.
Ant. C. 140.

not so much as discover what route he had taken. The Consul made his wrath fall on the Vectones and the Gallaci, by entirely destroying their country, to deprive the enemy of all hopes of aid from them.

*He asks
peace of
him inef-
fectually.*

Viriathus seeing that the war became every day more difficult for him to support, and that several of his allies, some from necessity, and others of their own accord, quitted his party, thought it prudence to try methods for an accommodation before he had received any blow. For this purpose, he sent Deputies to the Consul, who represented to him, "That for fourteen years, which
" the war had continued, there had been various
" advantages and losses on both sides. That
" their General, at a time when his affairs could
" not be said to be in a bad condition, had seized
" the first occasion which offered, for making
" peace with the Romans. That the Consul's
" own brother had granted it, and that it had
" been ratified by the Roman People. That he
" did not think he had given any cause of com-
" plaint since the conclusion of that treaty. But
" that, without desiring to enter in any manner
" into discussions upon that head, he prayed the
" Consul to consider, that he always continued on
" his side in the same disposition for peace, and
" even ready to accept any other new reasonable
" condition which the Roman People should please
" to impose upon him."

The Consul answered in few words with great haughtiness, *This is not the first time, Lusitanians,* said he to them, *that you have talked in the same strain. For several years you have asked peace with so much earnestness, that one would think you were weary of the war; and yet you always begin it again with a virulence, which shews that you cannot bear peace. It is to no purpose to speak of a treaty,*
that

that subsists no longer, as the Roman People have cancelled it. The question is, whether Viriathus is sincerely disposed to submit to the Senate's orders. Now what we principally require of him, is, as he has made several of the cities of Spain quit the side of the Romans, the principal citizens of which he honourably entertains about him, that he delivers up those rebels to us. It is by this proof we shall know, that he really repents his past conduct.

A. R. 612.
Ant. C. 140.

Viriathus passionately desired peace. He resolved to obey, caused part of the persons demanded to be put to death, amongst the rest his own father-in-law, and delivered up the rest to the Consul, who ordered their hands to be cut off. Cæpio afterwards proposed a new condition, which was that Viriathus and the Lusitanians should deliver up their arms. To this article neither that General nor his troops could consent; so that the war was begun again.

It is evident, that Viriathus was ready to sacrifice every thing for the sake of peace, except his liberty and that of his country. He had done but too much to purchase that peace, when he put to death and delivered up the principal persons of his allies to the Consul: and of all the actions history relates of him, this is the only one that cannot be excused. But when the question was to deliver up his arms, that is, to submit to the yoke, and be at the mercy of the Romans, he could not resolve upon it. Was he in the wrong, when he had the examples of the perfidy and cruelty of a Lucullus and a Galba?

Cæpio, with whom he had now to do, was not a man of much more honour: and he had besides so much haughtiness and cruelty, that he was odious to the whole army, and principally to the cavalry, by whom he believed himself despised, and whom he treated for that reason with still

Cæpio becomes odious to the whole army, and is in great danger.
Diod. a-
pud Val-
les. 618.

A. R. 612.
Ant. C. 140.

less favour than the rest of the troops. To humble and mortify this corps, he ordered the six hundred horse of the two legions to go, attended only by their servants, to cut wood near the mountains occupied by the enemy. This was evidently sending them to slaughter. The Lieutenants and Tribunes remonstrated upon it to the Consul; but he had no regard to them, and persisted in his resolution. His design was to reduce them to come of themselves to ask favour of him, and to humble themselves before him. They chose rather to expose themselves to certain death, than to give him that unjust and malignant satisfaction. In consequence they immediately set out. The cavalry of the allies, and many other soldiers and officers, who could not endure, that so many brave men should be sacrificed to the Consul's caprice, accompanied them voluntarily. The detachment being much strengthened by this additional body of troops, cut wood without any danger.

At their return nothing was heard but murmurs, complaints, and imprecations against the Consul. In their rage somebody happened to say, that he well deserved to be burnt himself with the wood they were carrying back. Every body took hold and applauded that word that moment, and as soon as they re-entered the camp, they began to place the wood round Cæpio's tent. If he had not escaped their fury by flight, a Consul of the Roman People would have been burnt in his tent by his own soldiers; a thing without example.

*He causes
Viriathus
to be murdered treacherously.*

App. 269

Virg. Buc.

Virg. Buc.

The danger he had been in, which did not leave him without dread, made him more desirous than ever to see an end of this war. But, as he did not believe it possible to terminate it by honourable means, he had recourse to treachery. With money and promises he corrupted two officers sent by

by Viriathus to treat of peace with him, and engaged them to murder their General. Accordingly they killed him without noise or being discovered, having entered his tent in the night, where they found him asleep, and immediately went to carry the news to the Consul and to demand the reward he had promised them. He referred them to the Senate, to whom he said it alone belonged to determine, whether officers should be rewarded, who had killed their General. What a monster was this!

A. R. 612.
Ant. C. 149.

When the news of the death of Viriathus spread in the army, the whole camp resounded with cries and groans. They deplored the sad fate of their General, and their own misfortune, having neither leader, strength, nor counsel. It was to them an increase of grief, not to know the authors of the crime, and to have the consolation of taking a just and legal vengeance of them. With faces bathed in tears they paid him the last duties with all the magnificence in their power. They laid his body upon an high funeral pile, and burnt it, after having sacrificed a great number of victims. The troops, both infantry and cavalry, marched several times round the pile, drawn up in battalions and squadrons, singing, after their barbarous manner, the praises of the dead. When the fire was out, they gathered his ashes, and placed them in a tomb. The ceremony concluded with battles between two hundred couple of gladiators.

*How much
that General is
lamented.
His obsequies.
Ibid.*

Viriathus was equally a good soldier and a good General, a man both to design and execute, full of courage, and at the same time of great prudence. Solely intent upon the good of his troops, and indifferent to his own wants, he made himself as well beloved by them as a good father is by his children. He knew how to keep them within the bounds

His merit.

A. R. 612.
Ant. C. 140.

bounds of their duty by an exact discipline, but tempered with lenity, and always guided by reason. Accordingly during more than ten years that he commanded, no commotion nor any sedition ever arose in his army. Excellent talent in a commander without birth; That of knowing how to make himself respected. But superior merit served him instead of nobility.

The war with Viriathus ended with his life, but not that of Spain, which for several years more gave the Romans no small disquiet. Pompey again besieged Numantia, which made a vigorous defence. The sallies of the besieged were so frequent, and they attacked sometimes the foragers and sometimes the troops employed in the works with so much ardor, that the Romans hardly dared to quit their intrenchments. Many fell in these different attacks.

Pompey ruins his army by continuing the siege of Numantia during the winter.

App. 298.

New troops arrived from Rome sent by the Senate into Spain to relieve such of the soldiers, as had deserved their discharge by six years service. Though Pompey did not rely much upon these troops, who were new levies and without experience, however to enure them to the fatigues of war, and also to re-establish his own reputation, which was next to entirely lost, he resolved to continue the siege even during the winter. The rigor of the season, and the air and water of the country, to which those soldiers were not accustomed, occasioned many diseases, and particularly very painful colicks, which made great havock in the army. To add to their misfortune, the besieged knowing that the Romans had sent out a great detachment to intercept a considerable convoy, posted an ambuscade near the camp, and afterwards attacked the advanced guards with some troops of soldiers. The Romans not being able to suffer this insult, quitted their intrenchments in great

great numbers. The besieged did the same, and an action ensued; during which the Numantines suddenly quitted their ambuscade, and defeated a great part of the enemy. The victors, animated by this success, marched without loss of time, against the great detachment; and cut it almost entirely to pieces.

Pompey, perceiving he had taken a wrong step, retired from before Numantia, and made his troops go into winter-quarters in several cities. But as he expected a successor in the spring, and at his return to Rome was afraid of being accused before the People, he thought it necessary to take some measures for avoiding that danger. With this view he sent some persons in whom he could confide to the Numantines, to induce them to demand peace, by giving them hopes, that very favourable conditions would be granted them. Tho' they might have had many advantages over Pompey, however wearied out by the length of the war, and no doubt because they were sensible of the great disproportion between their own forces and those of the Romans, they readily gave in to the overtures made them. When their Ambassadors appeared, Pompey, assuming an haughty tone, declared in the assembly, that he had no other conditions to propose to them, except that they should deliver up themselves and all they possessed to the discretion of the Roman People: but underhand he let them know his reasons for that language. The treaty was concluded: they made their submission in the presence of the assembly: but nothing farther was required of them but to deliver up their prisoners with the deserters, and that they should give hostages. It was also stipulated, that they should pay thirty talents, part down, and part in a certain short time.

He concludes a treaty of peace with the Numantines.
App. 299.

Thirty thousand crowns.

A. R. 613.

Ant. C. 139.

M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.

CN. CALPURNIUS PISO.

*Pompey af-
terwards
denies hav-
ing made
that trea-
ty, and has
interest to
be acquit-
ted at
Rome.*

As soon as Popilius, who was appointed Pompey's successor in Hispania Citerior, arrived there, the Numantines offered to pay the remainder of the sum that had been stipulated. Pompey, who saw himself discharged from the care of the war, denied that he had made any treaty with them. The Numantines, inexpressibly surprized, and imagining all that passed a dream, exclaiming against the Proconsul's breach of faith, called upon the gods and men to witness the wrong done them: for some Senators and many officers had been present at the conclusion of the treaty. The Consul referred them to the Senate, and in the mean time, attacked the Lusones, a people in the neighbourhood of Numantia, against whom he did nothing considerable.

The Deputies of the Numantines pleaded their cause at Rome, and proved it so evidently that it was impossible to disguise Pompey's breach of faith. He however persevered, and supporting himself by his credit, which was enormous, he persisted in denying the fact with the utmost impudence; and it was decreed, that there had been no treaty. In proportion as we proceed in our history, we shall sensibly perceive the progress which corruption of manners of every kind makes in Rome.

It shewed itself again at the same time in respect of the same Pompey. He was accused of extortion, and four persons of Consular dignity, the two Cæpios, and the two Metelli, deposed against him.

Cic. pro
Font.
n. 13.

Cicero says, that the authority of those grave witnesses had not its effect, because they were considered as enemies of the accused. But to judge of this

this particular fact from the rest of Pompey's conduct, it is highly probable, that the credit of this factious and intriguing man carried it also in this case against right.

A. R. 613.
Ant. C. 139⁴

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.

D. JUNIUS BRUTUS.

A. R. 614.
Ant. C. 138.

I cannot omit, before I continue our account of what passed in Spain, relating in this place some remarkable facts that passed this year at Rome.

Example of severity against a deserter.
Liv. Epist.

The Tribunes of the People gave an example of severity, highly capable of sustaining the military discipline. C. Matienus, a name known in other respects in the Roman History, had quitted the army in Spain without a discharge. He was accused for this reason before the Tribunes, and by their sentence condemned to be whipped with the *furca* (or gibbet) on his neck, and afterwards to be sold for (a) the lowest price, as being of less value than the meanest of slaves. This sentence was executed in the presence of the new-raised soldiers the Consuls were then levying.

This instance of severity, at a time when the glory of the Roman arms declined every day, did the Tribunes great honour. But they soon lost the merit of it by the insolence of their conduct in respect to the Consuls. They pretended to a right of exempting ten citizens of their own choosing, from the necessity of listing for the service in the field. This was an old dispute, which had been already carried very far between the Tribunes and Consuls thirteen years before. The Consuls of the year we now speak of, strongly opposed this attempt: and the Tribunes in their fury, and particularly animated by Curatius, one

The two Consuls imprisoned by the Tribunes of the People.

(a) Sestericio nummo. About three half pence.

A. R. 614.
Ant. C. 138.

of their own number, a man of the meanest extraction, had the insolence to commit the two Consuls to prison. * This is the first, but will not be the last instance of this violence of the Tribunes. The privilege they had of being sacred and inviolable in their persons, made them capable of daring any thing, without its being possible to withstand them, when they were all agreed. We shall soon see this power of the Tribuneship rise to excesses still more fatal to the Commonwealth.

Scipio Na-
fica's con-
stancy in
respect to
the people.

These two Consuls who were treated with so much indignity, besides the respect due to their supreme station and birth, were highly to be regarded on account of their personal merit. Scipio Nafica gave a proof of his admirable constancy of mind, not only on the occasion, of which I have been speaking, but in opposing and silencing the whole assembled people. Provisions were dear at Rome, and the same Tribune of the People, Curatius, was for forcing the Consuls into certain regulations in respect to corn. Nafica opposed this: and as his discourse was ill received by the People, and he was interrupted by murmurs and cries, *Romans*, said he, raising his voice, *be silent. I know better than you what is for the good of the Commonwealth.* (a) At that word the Assembly was silent out of respect: and the authority of a single man had more impression upon the multitude, than so sensible a concern as that of provisions and bread.

* Cicero L. iii. de leg. n.

20. says this in express terms. However, the epitome of Livy tells us, that the Consuls Lucullus and Albinus had before been imprisoned upon the same dispute.

(a) Quâ voce auditâ, omnes pleno venerationis silentio, majorem ejus auctoritatis, quam suorum alimentorum, curam egerunt. Val. Max. iii. 7.

As to Brutus, he acquired much glory in Hispania Ulterior, whither he was sent to establish peace in that country. A. R. 614.
Ant. C. 138.

After the death of Viriathus, a great number of those, who had served under him, submitted voluntarily. Cæpio took their arms from them; but to make them quit the life of robbers, which they had hitherto followed, he conceived it necessary to transplant them into another country, where a settlement and lands to cultivate were given them. He had not time to compleat the execution of this project: Brutus put the last hand to it, and caused the city of Valentia to be built for them, settling them, as we see, in a place far remote from Lusitania. Brutus builds Valentia.

By the example and under the protection of Viriathus, many troops of robbers ravaged Lusitania, and continued to do so after his death. Brutus undertook to purge the province of them, which he did not effect without difficulty. Accustomed to live in the mountains, of which they knew all the windings and turnings, they fell suddenly in troops upon travellers, and even upon bodies of soldiers, and then retired to their holes by by-ways almost impracticable, with a speed, that made the pursuit of the most active and determinate enemies ineffectual. This trade the Mi-quelets still follow in some provinces of Spain. He clears the province of robbers.

The Consul could conceive no other method for putting a stop to their incursions, than to attack the towns and villages that belonged to them, and where they were born, in hopes that they would perhaps come to the relief of their countries, or at least that they would abandon those places to his soldiers, the plunder of which would make them amends for all their pains and fatigues. He found more resistance there than he expected: not only the men but the women took

A. R. 612.
Ant. C. 138.

arms to defend their houses and effects. These Lusitanian women went to battle like men, and endured wounds and death with the same courage. It was however necessary to give way to force: and the inhabitants of those places finding it impossible to resist the number of their enemies, which was infinitely superior to their own, removed all the effects they could carry away to the mountains, and thereby secured their persons and goods. But at length, being desirous to prevent the total ruin of their country, they sent Deputies to the Consul to make their submission, who very willingly granted them pardon and peace.

*Popilius
defeated by
Stratagem
before Nu-
mantia.
Proptin.
Stratag.
iii. 17.*

On another side, Popilius, who had been continued in command in Hispania Citerior, according to the orders of the Senate, renewed the siege of Numantia. The inhabitants did not, according to their former custom, march out to meet the Romans, and made no sallies upon them, keeping close within their walls without appearing or making any motion. This continued for some days: which made the Proconsul believe, that the besieged, tired and disgusted with their former losses, were entirely discouraged. In consequence he ordered his troops to apply ladders to the walls, in order to scale the city, which they did without delay and with great ardor. The tranquillity, which still continued in the city, without the appearance of any soldier upon the walls, gave Popilius some suspicion; and he immediately gave orders for sounding the retreat. The soldiers, who had flattered themselves with carrying the city by assault, and enriching themselves by the great plunder they should find in it, obeyed but slowly and with reluctance. It was at this instant, that the besieged sallied through different gates, threw down all who had mounted the ladders, vigorously attack-

ed

ed the rest who had not time to draw up in battle, and defeated part of the army.

A. R. 614.
Ant. C. 138.

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

A. R. 615.
Ant. C. 137.

C. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.

Mancinus came to compleat the disgrace of the Romans before Numantia. It is said, that when he set out from Italy, many sinister omens foretold the misfortune that waited him. But the true omen was his incapacity and want of courage. An author, of no great weight, does him the honour however to suppose, that he resolved to re-establish discipline amongst his troops, before he exposed them to a battle. But it is certain from the testimony of all Historians that no action or skirmish passed, in which the Numantines had not always the advantage; which sensibly augmented their boldness, and discouraged the Romans. This at length came to such a pitch, that the Roman soldiers could neither support the voice or sight of a Numantine.

Mancinus arrives before Numantia.
Liv. Epit. App. 300.

Appian. Liv. Epit. Plut. in Gracch.

Mancinus, in such a situation, believed he could not do better than to quit his camp in the night, and to remove his troops for some time from Numantia, with the view of dispelling their terror by degrees, and of giving them time to resume the courage and boldness natural to the Romans. Appian says, a false report that the Cantabrians and Vaccæi were coming to the aid of their countrymen, made him take this resolution. However it were, he retired in the night with great silence. The Numantines, being informed of his retreat, set out only to the number of four thousand, pursued those who fled without loss of time, attacked them in the rear, made a great slaughter of them, and pushed the rest into very difficult places, from which there was almost no

He retires in the night from before Numantia, and is pursued by the Numantines.

Plut.

A. R. 615. way to retire : and though the Roman army con-
 Ant. C. 137. sisted of above twenty thousand men, they surround-
 Liv. Epit. ed them in such a manner, that it was impossible
 for them to extricate themselves. This can hardly
 be conceived.

He makes an infamous treaty with them, which is negotiated by Tiberius Gracchus.
 Plut. Mancinus, despairing of opening himself a way
 by force, sent an herald to the Numantines, to
 ask some conditions. They answered, that they
 would confide only in Tiberius Gracchus, and de-
 manded, that he should be sent to them : he then
 served under Mancinus in quality of Quæstor,
 that is, of treasurer. This great confidence, which
 they expressed for him, was founded partly upon
 his personal merit : for the whole army resounded
 with his name and virtues. It proceeded also from
 the remembrance of his father, who having
 formerly made war in Spain, and subjected several
 nations, had granted the Numantines peace,
 and had taken care that they should enjoy it. Ti-
 berius was accordingly sent. He conferred with
 the principal officers of the enemy. The treaty
 was concluded. The particular articles are not
 known. But the conditions were equal between the
 two States. The Numantines, taught by the ex-
 ample of Pompey's perfidy, took a precaution,
 which however proved of no great use to them.
 This was to make the Consul, Quæstor, and prin-
 cipal officers engage by oath to cause the treaty
 now made to be observed. When every thing
 was thus regulated, the Romans set out, leaving
 all the riches of their camp in the hands of the
 Numantines.

Amongst the spoils were the registers of Ti-
 berius, in which were the account of all the sums
 received and expended whilst he had been Quæ-
 stor. As it was highly important for him to re-
 cover them, he left the army on its march, and
 went to Numantia, attended only by three or
 four

four of his friends. The Numantines received him perfectly well; treated him with all the marks of respect and amity, and forced him to accept of an entertainment with them. After which they returned him his register, and pressed him to take any part of the spoils, that he thought fit. He accepted only incense, which he employed for the publick sacrifices, and resumed the route of the army, well satisfied with his whole treatment by the Numantines.

As soon as the news of this treaty arrived at Rome, the Senate began by recalling Mancinus, and ordered him to return to the city to give an account of his conduct; and at the same time made M. Æmilius his Colleague set out, to take his place.

As soon as Mancinus returned to Rome, his affair was examined in the Senate. He there modestly justified his conduct, partly imputing all the misfortunes, that had happened to him, to the bad condition, in which he had found the army; insinuating that he might perhaps be allowed to ascribe them also to the wrath of the gods, incensed that war had been declared against the Numantines without any visible cause; and excusing the treaty from the indispensable necessity of consenting to it, in order to preserve the lives of above twenty thousand citizens. That for the rest, contented with having rendered the Commonwealth that service, he should quietly expect the decision of his fate from the Senate, being ready to sacrifice with joy his liberty and life to the utility and honour of his country. The Senate also gave audience to the Deputies of Numantia. But the best support of this whole cause was Tib. Gracchus, who thought it very strange, that it should be made a crime in him to have preserved the Commonwealth so great a number of citizens.

A. R. 615.
Ant. C. 137.

Mancinus
is ordered
to return
to Rome.
Appian.

Mancinus,
and the
Deputies of
Numantia,
are heard
in the Se-
nate.
App. 302.

A. R. 615.
Ant. C. 137.

citizens. He was seconded by all the relations and friends of those who had served in this war, that is, the greatest part of the People. All of them extolled the greatness of the service, which Tiberius had rendered the State; and though they willingly gave up Mancinus, on whom alone they laid the infamy of this treaty, the interests of the Quæstor were so closely united with those of his General, that it was not possible but that the protection which Tiberius found amongst the People, should also have some effect in favour of Mancinus. The affair was not decided till the year following.

The Consul

*Æmilius
attacks the
Vaccæi;
besieges
Pallantia,
and is ob-
liged to fly
with pre-
cipitation.
Appian.*

300—302.

Whilst all this passed at Rome, the Consul M. Æmilius being arrived in Spain, and desiring to signalize himself by some enterprize, made war against the Vaccæi, who were very quiet, and besieged Pallantia, the strongest place of the country. He associated D. Brutus with himself in this project who commanded in Hispania Ulterior in quality of Proconsul. They had already united their troops, when two Deputies of the Senate arrived from Rome with a decree expressly forbidding the Consul to undertake any thing against the Vaccæi. He gave them the reasons he had for attacking that people: and concluding that the good success of his enterprize, which he considered as certain, would justify him entirely with the Senate, he obstinately persisted in his scheme, which did not succeed as he had expected.

The siege continued long, and the besiegers began to be in want of provisions. A considerable convoy was upon the point of arriving under the command of a General officer named Flaccus, when unfortunately the enemy issued suddenly from an ambuscade, where they waited for him, and surrounded him on all sides. Flaccus would have perished there with his whole detachment, but for a stratagem, which happily came into his head.

He

He spread a report throughout his troops, that the Consul had at length made himself master of Palantia. They raised great cries of joy, which infinitely discouraged the enemy: and upon that news, which they believed very true, they retired immediately. Flaccus, by the means of this happy lie, saved his convoy and detachment, and arrived in a manner triumphant in the camp.

But this supply was of no long duration, and famine began again to be felt so sensibly, that it every day destroyed a great number of beasts and men. The Consul was in despair, and made his troops decamp in the night. It is easy to conceive the disorder and confusion which must take place, on so sudden and precipitate a departure. The cries of the sick and wounded, who in vain implored the help of their comrades, and loaded them with imprecations on seeing themselves inhumanly abandoned to the mercy of the enemy, soon apprized the besieged of the Consul's nocturnal flight. They quitted the city in a body, and having come up with the flying troops before sun-rise, they incessantly harassed them during the whole day, attacking them sometimes in the rear, and sometimes in the flanks. They might have destroyed the whole army, if they had continued the pursuit: but the approach of night obliged them to return home. The Roman troops escaped as they could, dispersing themselves on all sides. Six thousand men were lost on this defeat.

Brutus was the only one who consoled Rome for this bad news, by the good success he continued to have in Hispania Ulterior. He took above thirty towns, and carried his victorious arms as far as the ocean on the west. What did him most honour with the soldiers, was his passing the river *Lethe*. That name, by which one of the rivers of hell was called, and, of which the Romans had

A. R. 615.
Ant. C. 137.

*Success of
Brutus in
Hispania
Ulterior.*

*Passage of
the river
Lethe.*

Freinshem.

A. R. 615.
Ant. C. 137.

had never heard before, terrified them to such a degree, that not one of them dared to approach it. Brutus, without the least concern, snatched an ensign from one of the *Vexillarii*, and crying out, *This ensign and your General will soon be on the other side*, he passed the river, and was followed by the whole army. He afterwards passed the *Minus*, one of the greatest rivers of Lusitania. He found the people determined to defend themselves well. The women themselves fought with masculine courage, and when they were taken prisoners killed themselves and their children, preferring death to slavery. He however reduced them. It is said, that having made them fall into ambuscades, into which their rash boldness precipitated them, he killed them fifty thousand men, and took six thousand. These successes acquired him the surname of *Gallæcus*, or *Callaicus*, conqueror of the people of Galicia.

A. R. 616.
Ant. C. 136.

P. FURIUS PHILUS.

SEX. ATILIUS SERRANUS.

It is decreed at Rome that Mancinus shall be delivered up to the Numantines.
App. 302.
Cic. de Offic. iii.
109.

As soon as the new Consuls entered upon office, the Senate came to a determination in respect to Mancinus, and upon the treaty which he had concluded. The treaty was cancelled, as made without the authority of the Senate and People of Rome: and it was decreed, that all those who had sworn to the observance of it should be delivered up to the Numantines. Two Tribunes took upon them to propose to the People the authorizing this decree of the Senate by their suffrages.

Mancinus on this occasion made himself admired for his courage, and shewed himself as good and generous a citizen, as he had been a timorous General. When the law was proposed by the Tribunes conformably to the Senate's decree, he harangued the

the People in support of it, though it was to prove fatal to himself; and in that renewed the example which had of old been set by Sp. Postumius after the treaty of the *Furce Caudine*.

A. R. 316.
Ann. C. 196.

Tiberius did not pique himself upon the like generosity. He separated his cause from that of his General, and by his credit, his own, and his friends sollicitation, prevailed upon the People to authorize the Senate's decree only in part, and to condemn Mancinus only to be delivered up to the Numantines. Tiberius carried the thing much farther: he could not pardon the Senate the wrong he pretended they had done him; and the desire of revenging himself did not a little contribute to those turbulent and hazardous enterprizes, which occasioned so many misfortunes to the Commonwealth, and to himself an unhappy and deplorable death.

In consequence of the People's decree, Mancinus was put into the hands of the Consul P. Furius, to be carried to Spain and delivered up to the Numantines by one of the heralds (*Feciales*) called *Pater Patratus*. He was accordingly brought to the gates of Numantia naked, and bound hand and foot. But the Numantines refusing to receive him, the Romans would not take him back; so that a man, who had been Consul the year before, and at the head of a great army, passed the whole day between the camp and the city, abandoned by his own people, and rejected by the enemy; till night being come, the Romans permitted him to enter the camp. He returned to Rome, and would have entered the Senate as usually before: but that was opposed. P. Rutilius, one of the Tribunes of the People, pretended that he was no longer a citizen. The Tribune did not act in this manner out of ill-will, but because he believed the thing contrary to the sense of the laws. And indeed those

The Numantines refuse to receive him.
He returns to Rome.
Cic. de Orat. i. 181.
App. ibid.

A. R. 616 those who after having been taken by the enemy
 Ant. C. 136 returned into their country, repossessed all the
 rights of which captivity had deprived them; and
 this is what was called *Jus postliminii*. But (a) the
 Tribune represented, that by immemorial tradi-
 tion, whoever had been sold by his father or the
 People, or delivered up to the enemy by the *Fæ-*
cialis, should have no share in the privilege and
 right of return. It was necessary, that the au-
 thority of the People should interfere, who rein-
 stated (*rehabilitated*) Mancinus, and declared that
 he should always be considered as a citizen, and
 enjoy all the rights annexed to that condition. He

Plin.

xxxiv. 15, even afterwards attained the Prætorship. Mancinus, to preserve the remembrance of this event, caused a statue to be erected, which represented him in the same circumstance and attitude, he was in when delivered up to the Numantines.

Noble per-
 severance
 of the Con-
 sul Furius
 in virtue.
 Val Max
 iii. 7.

The monuments of history come down to us contain nothing either done or attempted against the Numantines. All that we know is, that he was a wise and moderate man; of which he gave a proof in chusing Q. Metellus and Q. Pompeius, both his enemies, and enemies to each other, for his Lieutenants. They had reproached him with having taken pains to acquire the command of the armies. He carried them with him confiding in his own virtue because he did not fear to have witnesses, whom hatred might render very attentive in observing all that might admit of censure in his conduct.

(a) P. Rutilius Tribunus
 plebis de Senatu jussit educi,
 quòd eum civem negaret esse:
 quia memoria sic esset prodi-

tum, quem pater suus aut po-
 pulus vendidisset, aut pater
 patratu dedidisset, ei nullum
 esse postliminium. Cic.

SER. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

A. R. 617.

Q. CALPURNIUS PISO.

Ant. C. 135.

Nothing considerable passed under these Consuls in Spain. The war which had subsisted there so long mortified and dishonoured the Roman People exceedingly. After having conquered so many powerful nations, they had the grief and shame to see for many years all their efforts miscarry before one city, and their armies almost entirely beaten by enemies, who of themselves were very weak, and whom the incapacity only of their Generals had hitherto rendered formidable. To remedy such great evils, they seriously thought of employing some person of known and experienced merit, whose ability might reinstate the honour of the Commonwealth. There was no occasion to deliberate long upon this choice. The Destroyer of Carthage seemed the only one capable of terminating the war of Numantia. Accordingly, when the question was to elect magistrates for the ensuing year, Scipio having come into the field of Mars to solicit in favour of Fabius Buteo, his brother's son, who stood for the Quæstorship, the Roman People elected him Consul. (a) Thus we see him twice elected Consul, and both times without asking it, which was contrary to custom, and very extraordinary; the first before the time in respect to age; the second at the time, but almost too late for the Commonwealth, which in the preceding years had been in great want of such a General. He was destined to destroy the two

(a) Consulatam petivit nunquam, factus est Consul bis: primum, ante tempus; iterum sibi suo tempore, reipublicæ penè serò: qui, duabus urbibus everfis inimicissimis huic imperio, non modò præsentia, verùm etiam futura bella delevit. Cic.

cities,

A. R. 617.
Ant. C. 135.

cities, which may be considered as the greatest enemies of Rome, and thereby to acquire the glory not only of putting an end to present, but also of preventing future wars.

A. R. 618.
Ant. C. 134.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO II.

C. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

*Spain is
given Sci-
pio for his
province.*

Appian.

302, 303.

Plut. in

Apoph-

thegm.

201.

Lots were not admitted to determine the provinces of the Consuls: that of Spain was given to Scipio by the Senate. Abundance of citizens presented themselves voluntarily to serve under him: the Senate would not grant them that permission, giving for reason, that it was the means to desert Italy, and that Rome had many wars to sustain at the same time. The revolted slaves in Sicily actually gave the Romans great employment. Besides which Spain seemed to have more occasion for a General, than for troops, the legions commanded by preceding Consuls having always remained there. Scipio was only permitted to raise such aids as he could from the Cities and States, with which he had any particular ties. He drew together about four thousand men of this kind, including a squadron of five hundred *Emeriti*, (soldiers who had served the usual time) which he formed out of the chosen troops, attached to his person, and called *the squadron of friends*. No ready money was given him: he had only assignments upon the revenues of the Commonwealth, not yet paid in. He was the more reconciled to this last article, as he could raise sums from his own purse and those of his friends, to supply his wants: but the refusal of raising new troops affected him sensibly; those which he was to find in Spain having been often defeated; and whether by the courage of the enemy, or their own cowardice

dice it was difficult to make them perform any good service. A. R. 618. Ant. C. 134.

When Scipio arrived in Spain, he found the troops in a miserable condition, with neither order, discipline, nor respect for their officers, and abandoned entirely to luxury, idleness, licentiousness. He immediately conceived, that before he could think of attacking and overcome the enemy, it would be necessary to take pains for reforming his army; and it was to this that he devoted his whole care and application. Scipio labours and succeeds in reforming his army. App. 303. Frontin. Stratag. iv. 1.

He began by banishing every thing from the camp, that tended only to the support of luxury, the supernumerary sutlers and servants, especially the prostitutes, that were to the number of two thousand. He caused a great number of carriages and carriage-beasts to be sold, which the soldiers used for moving their baggage, and retained only such as were absolutely necessary. He left them no other utensils except spits, kettles, and pots; and no food, but boiled or roasted flesh. He retrenched beds for eating, and ordered that they should use none but a (a) kind of squab stuffed with straw, and set them the example himself. He made them make long marches, laden with their baggage, provision of corn for fifteen or twenty days, and seven palisades. He also made them dig trenches, plant palisades, and raise walls; and demolished the whole immediately after, proposing no other end to himself, but to enure them to fatigue; saying "that those (b) ought to be covered with dirt, who were afraid of being so with blood." He was present in person at all these exercises, and exacted labour and obedience

(a) The Greek word properly signifies a bundle of leaves and twigs wrapt up in a cloth.

(b) Luto inquinari, qui sanguine nollent, jubeantur. Flor.

A. R. 618. with great severity. He often said, " that austere
 Ant. C. 134. " and rigid Generals were of great advantage to
 " their armies, and indulgent ones to the enemy.
 " For, added he, the camps of the latter look
 " gay, but the orders of the Generals are despised
 " in them: those of the others seem sad and
 " gloomy; but the troops are obedient and ready
 " on every call in them."

It entirely In a short time the army entirely changed aspect,
changes and became quite different. He then approached
aspect. Numantia; but would not attack those terrible
 Appian. enemies, till he had first seasoned his troops for
 304-306. war by different expeditions against the neighbour-
 ing States. The whole campaign passed almost
 in this; and he did not think the time lost, having
 put an end to the contempt the enemy had for his
 army, and enabled it to act against them with
 vigour at the proper time.

Jugurtha After this he returned to Numantia, to go into
comes to winter-quarters. It was there Jugurtha, the grand-
Scipio. son of Masinissa, joined him. Micipsa sending
 Sallust. in an aid of elephants with a great number of archers
 bell. Ju- and slingers, put Jugurtha at the head of them,
 gurth. not out of consideration for that young Prince, but
 App. 306. on the contrary to rid himself of him by exposing
 him to the dangers of so hot a war as that of
 Spain, from whence he was in hopes, that he
 would never return. He was deceived in his ex-
 pectation as we shall see in the sequel. Marius,
Marius who was one day to conquer Jugurtha, served at
serves un- this time with him under Scipio, who treated both
der him. with great marks of esteem. He delighted to
 Vell. ii. 9. favour and cultivate rising merit. Rewards,
 praises, marks of particular friendship, were all
 employed to encourage the young warriors, and
 make them tread the paths of glory.

P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.

L. CALPURNIUS PISO FRUGI.

A. R. 619.

Ant. C. 133.

This year was famous for the commotions excited by Ti. Gracchus on one side, and for the taking of Numantia on the other, which terminated a long and dangerous war. We shall treat at present only of the latter event.

The end and plan followed by Scipio in respect to the Numantines during the preceding campaign and that now beginning, had been, and still was, not to venture a battle with them, to damp the ardor of their courage, and to subdue them by famine in ruining their country, and endeavouring to intercept all their convoys. Only once he came to blows with them; because his foragers, upon whom the Numantines had sallied, were in danger. He forced them to fly, but did not pursue them, contenting himself with letting his soldiers see Numantines flying before them, which seemed almost a prodigy. The besieged having several times demanded peace without effect, rightly perceived, that they could obtain it only sword in hand, and being almost in despair they frequently offered Scipio battle, who constantly pursued his plan, without regard to their imputations of fear and cowardice. He often repeated with praise the saying of his father Paulus Æmilius (a) "that battle ought not to be given except in effect of great necessity, or a very favourable occasion."

Scipio persists in refusing the Numantines battle.

Appian.

To deprive the Numantines of all hope and resource, he began a line of contravallation round their city. He had settled two camps, and given

He forms lines of circumvallation round the city.

(a) (Nagabat Paullus) bonum situdo, aut summa ei occasio Imperatorem signis collatis data esset. *Ant. Gall. xiii. 3.*

Appian. 306-308.

A. R. 619. the command of the one to his brother Fabius, re-
 Ant. C. 133. serving that of the other to himself. Part of the
 army was employed in carrying on the works, and
 the other in defending the workmen. Numantia
 was situated upon an hill, and was about twenty
 four *stadia* in circumference, that is almost a
 league. The line of contravallation was twice as
 large. The workmen had orders, when they were
 attacked by the enemy, to make a signal immedi-
 ately, in the day-time by holding up a purple
 cassock on the end of a pike, and in the night by
 fire, in order that aid might be instantly sent
 them.

When this work was finished, a second not far
 from it was began. A trench was dug strength-
 ened with palisades, and a wall was erected eight
 feet thick and ten high, without including the
 battlements. This wall was flanked with towers
 from space to space throughout its whole extent.
 In a morass, through which the line of the wall
 ran, he caused a mole to be made of the same
 thickness and heighth. Appian says, that Scipio
 was the first, who surrounded a city in this
 manner with lines, that did not decline a battle.

He shuts up
 the passage
 of the ri-
 ver Du-
 rius.

The river Durius (now the *Duero* or *Douro*)
 remained, which running along the walls, was a
 great support to the city, and afforded means for
 bringing provisions and troops into it. The men
 entered it without being perceived, either by
 diving, or in small boats, which carried them to
 it in a rapid manner either by the help of sails or
 oars. Appian says, that the river was too broad
 and rapid for laying a bridge over it; which it is
 not easy to conceive, as Numantia was situated at
 no great distance from the source of the Durius.
 However that were, according to him, Scipio used
 the following expedient for shutting up that river.
 He built two forts on the opposite banks, from
 which

which he laid a bar of long and strong beams, made fast at the two ends with great cables. Those beams were armed with long spikes of iron, which being perpetually agitated by the motion of the water, shut up the passage against swimmers and divers, and such as were for approaching in barks.

A. R. 679.
Ant. C. 133.

By all these works Scipio made it impossible for the besieged to receive either provisions, succours, or advices, and kept them entirely ignorant of what passed without.

When all was compleated, and he had placed all kinds of machines in the towers, supplied the walls with stones, darts and javelins, and with archers and slingers in the two forts; he posted soldiers throughout the whole extent of the intrenchments, at no great distance from each other, who night and day were to inform the sentinels next them of all that passed, and came to their knowledge. Each tower had orders, as soon as it should be attacked, to make the signal agreed upon, and all the rest immediately to do the same. Thus the signal of the tower gave notice that some movement was making, and the sentinels that gave advice, told the cause and particulars.

Wonderful order that he establishes for being informed of all that passes.

The army, including the auxiliary troops, which Scipio had drawn together from the States of Spain in alliance with the Romans, consisted of sixty thousand men. Half of them were employed in guarding the walls: twenty thousand to fight when necessary; and ten thousand to relieve and support the latter. Every one had his post and duty assigned him; and the orders received were immediately executed.

The Numantines frequently attacked those who guarded the walls at different places: but the defence was as sudden as the assault. For the signals were given on all sides; the sentinels, who gave

Inefficacious efforts of the Numantines

A. R. 619.
Ant. C. 133.

advice, were immediately in motion; the soldiers destined for battle, marched that moment towards the part of the wall which was attacked; and the trumpets from the tops of all the towers animated the combatants. Thus the whole extent of the lines, which was fifty stadia, (more than two leagues) spread terror by all this motion and noise; and Scipio did not fail to visit every part of them every day and night. He rightly judged, that the enemy, shut up in this manner, could not long hold out against him; and he so firmly assured himself of reducing them by famine, that having an opportunity of cutting a body of the Numantines in pieces, who had sallied in order to forage, he resolved to let them re-enter the city, saying, the more there was of them the sooner their provisions would be consumed.

*They im-
plore aid of
the Ar-
vaci.
App. 308.*

Notwithstanding all these precautions, a Numantine, a man of sense and courage, called Rhetogenes Caraunius, taking advantage of a dark and cloudy night, found means with some friends, to pass over the walls by the help of ladders, which they carried with them, and to repair to the several cities of the Arvaci, to implore their aid in favour of the Numantines, their neighbours and brethren, reduced to the last extremity, and menaced with the most dreadful misfortunes. But the whole country was in so great a terror, that they would not so much as hear Rhetogenes, and wherever he applied, he was ordered to retire immediately.

*Scipio se-
verely pu-
nishes the
city of Lu-
tia.*

App. ibid.

He was received favourably only at Lusia, a considerable city, situated twelve leagues from Numantia. The youth, interesting themselves warmly for the Numantines, occasioned aid to be promised them. The elders, who had been of a different opinion, gave Scipio secret advice of this without loss of time. The Roman was no less ex-
peditious

pedition on his side. It was two in the afternoon when he received the news; and the next day before sun-rise he was before the city with a great body of troops. He demanded that the principal persons of the youth should be delivered up to him. Upon being answered, that they had escaped, he threatened to storm the place. It was necessary to obey. Four hundred of them were sent to him, whose hands he caused to be cut off. He set out directly on his return, and the next day re-entered his camp at day-break.

I ought not to omit here a new instance of Scipio's generosity and disinterestedness, though it has no other relation to the war with the Numantines, than having agreed with it in point of time. Whilst that General was incamped before Numantia, considerable presents came to him from Antiochus Sideres, according to Livy's epitome, or from Attalus, according to Cicero. It was then the custom with the Generals to conceal this kind of presents, and convert them to their own advantage. But Scipio, who was much above so mean an avidity, would receive them in presence of the whole army; he caused them to be entered in the Quæstors accounts, and declared, that he would employ them to reward those, who should distinguish themselves by their bravery.

In the mean time famine reduced the Numantines to extremity. They deputed six of their citizens to Scipio, to obtain favourable conditions of him. Abarus was at their head, and spoke. "He began by highly extolling the courage and greatness of soul of the Numantines, of which he gave for proof all the calamities they had hitherto suffered in defence of their liberty. "He added, that Scipio could not but honour virtue wherever he found it, and spare a people, who undoubtedly merited his esteem. That

Generosity and disinterestedness of Scipio.

Epit. 57. Cic. pro Dej. n. 14.

The Numantines send to demand peace. App. 309

A. R. 619. " the grace he came to demand for that People,
 Ant. C. 133. " who were ready to surrender themselves to the
 " Romans, was either to treat them with huma-
 " nity, or to suffer them to perish gloriously in
 " battle sword in hand." Such lofty discourse was
 not proper for exciting compassion. Scipio replied
 in few words, " That the only condition he could
 " grant them, was, that they should abandon
 " themselves entirely to the discretion of the Ro-
 " mans, and deliver up all their arms."

*The Nu-
 mantines
 massacre
 their Depu-
 ties,
 App. ibid.*

The Numantines, accustomed to a kind of
 savage liberty, which rendered them incapable of
 bearing any yoke, were naturally very violent
 and outrageous; and the extremity of the calami-
 ties, which they had long suffered, had made
 them still more fierce. Scipio's answer, when
 reported, put them into a fury, and threw them
 into a kind of madness, that made them no longer
 masters of themselves. In their despair, they fell
 upon Abarus, who brought them this mournful
 answer, and imagining, that for the sake of his
 private interest with Scipio, he had neglected and
 betrayed those of the city, they massacred him
 with the other Deputies.

*Famine
 makes hor-
 rible ha-
 vock in the
 place.
 App. 310.*

They several times attempted to make sallies,
 but always ineffectually. Scipio persisted firmly
 in his resolution not to hazard a battle. In the
 mean time famine made dreadful havock in the
 city. After having exhausted all the resources,
 that extreme necessity suggests in times of such
 misery, they at length came to eating human
 flesh; and despair stifling in many all sense of
 humanity, the weak became the prey of the
 strongest; who were not afraid, for prolonging a
 miserable life for a few moments, to kill and
 devour their fellow creatures and citizens.

*It surren-
 ders at
 length,
 Ibid.*

They were no longer men, but spectres: so
 much had misery, hunger, sickness, and all
 manner

manner of evils united effaced their aspects, and given their whole appearance an haggard and distracted appearance. At length they surrendered to Scipio: who ordered them the same day to bring to him all their arms. They asked some delay as a favour; many not being able to resolve to sacrifice their liberty, and desiring to die free in their yet free country, killed themselves. Scipio granted them two days. Rhetogenes, of whom we have spoke before, the richest and most powerful of the citizens, occupied the finest quarter of the city. He set it on fire, and having drawn together all such as like himself were ardent for their liberty, he put swords into their hands to kill each other in single combat, and in that manner to die like brave men. He concluded this barbarous ceremony by killing himself, and leaping into the flames. The third day those who remained, repaired to the place assigned them. Scipio reserved only fifty of them for his triumph, sold all the rest, entirely demolished the city, and distributed the territory of Numantia amongst the neighbouring people. That unfortunate city was however rebuilt afterwards, as mention is made of it in the Geographers of latter times. The ruins of it were still to be seen in Mariana's time.

The news of the taking of Numantia occasioned great joy at Rome. The usual thanksgivings were made to the gods, and the Senate nominated ten Deputies to regulate the affairs of Spain in concert with Brutus and Scipio. Those two Generals being returned to Rome, the year following, triumphed, the first over the Gallicians and Lusitanians, People of Hispania Citerior. Brutus assumed the surname of *Callaicus*: Scipio added to the surname of *Africanus*, which he bore already with a double title, that of *Numantinus*.

A. R. 619.
Ant. C. 133.

Many kill
themselves.

Numantia
is entirely
demolished.
App. 311.

Triumphs
of Scipio
and Brutus.

A. R. 619.
 Ant. C. 133.
*Reflexions
 upon the
 valour of
 the Numantines,
 and the
 ruin of
 their city.*

The Numantines are a fine example of what loftiness of courage is capable, when sustained by an ardent love of liberty. At the beginning of the war there were only eight thousand men in the city, that bore arms. However, with that small number, for how many years did they make head against the Romans! How often did they beat their Generals! What misfortunes and disgraces did they not make him suffer! Even in this last year, Scipio, at the head of sixty thousand men, seemed still to fear them in some measure, and would never hazard a battle, which they offered him more than once. This was wisdom in him. That great man, sure of gaining a compleat victory over them by the means of time only, would not advance it a few days at the expence of his soldiers blood, which he thought himself obliged to spare, as a good father does his children. But at the same time a great proof of the courage of the Numantines, was Scipio's circumspection in respect to them with so great a superiority of forces.

There is no one, I believe, who is not moved with compassion for the deplorable fate of this brave People, whose whole crime was not being willing to submit to the sway of an ambitious Commonwealth, that pretended to give laws to the universe. Florus plainly affirms, that the Romans never made a more unjust war, than that against Numantia. But if the testimony of that writer, who was a Spaniard by origin, and of a warm imagination, is to be rejected, at least it is certain, that the Numantines, during the course of the war, several times made reasonable proposals of peace, and shewed more frankness and regard for justice than the Romans. It therefore does not seem easy to justify the entire ruin of that city. I am not surprized, that Rome destroyed Car-

Carthage. That State was a rival, which had rendered itself formidable, and might have become more so, if suffered to subsist. But the Numantines were not in a condition to make the Romans apprehend the ruin of their empire: and I do not see that Cicero (a) had any foundation for comparing them with the Cimbri, who came to invade Italy. Anger, and the spirit of revenge, seem to have led the Romans into the resolution they took to destroy Numantia; or perhaps the policy of conquerors. They were for shewing by a signal example, that every city and people, which resisted them obstinately, had nothing to expect but entire ruin.

A. R. 619.
Ant. C. 133.

Private Life of SCIPIO AFRICANUS.

THE taking of Numantia, which terminated a war, that disgraced the Roman name, compleated Scipio's military exploits. But, in order to have a more perfect idea of his merit and character, it seems, that after having seen him at the head of armies, in the tumult of battles, and in the pomp of triumphs, it will not be lost labour to consider him in the repose of a private life, in the midst of his friends, family, and household. The truly great man ought to be so in all things. The Magistrate, General, and Prince may constrain themselves, whilst they are in a manner exhibiting themselves as spectacles to the publick, and appear quite different from what they really are. But reduced to themselves, and without the witnesses who force them to wear the mask, all their lustre, like the pomp of the theatre, often

(a) Sic cum Celtiberis, cum non uter imperaret. Cic. de Cimbris bellum, ut cum inimicis gerebatur, uter esset, Offic. i. 38.

abandons them, and leaves little more to be seen in them than meanness and narrowness of mind.

Scipio did not depart from himself in any respect. He was not like certain paintings, that are to be seen only at distance: he could not but gain by a nearer view. I shall not repeat in this place what I have said before, of the generous manner, in which, while very young, he acted in his family; of that noble disinterestedness, which acquired him so great a reputation; and, which does not seem less estimable, and of that (a) sincere and constant respect for his brother because the elder, notwithstanding the superiority of his own merit, that placed him infinitely above him. The excellent education, which he had had through the care of his father Paulus Æmilius, who had provided him with the most learned masters of those times, as well in polite learning as the sciences, and the instructions he had received from Polybius, enabled him to fill up the vacant hours he had from publick affairs profitably, and to support the leisure of a private life with pleasure and dignity. This is the glorious testimony given of him by an historian. “ No body (b) knew better
 “ how to mingle leisure and action, nor to use
 “ the intervals of rest from publick business with
 “ more elegance and taste. Divided between
 “ arms and books, between the military labours
 “ of the camp, and the peaceful occupations of

(a) Scipio Q. Maximum fratrem, omnino sibi nequam parem, quod is antebat ætate, tanquam superiorem colebat. *Cic. de Amic.* 69.

(b) Neque enim quisquam hoc Scipione elegantius inter-

valla negotiorum otio dispunxit: semperque aut belli aut pacis servit artibus; semper inter arma ac studia versatus, aut corpus periculis, aut animum disciplinis exercuit. *Vell. Patere.* i. 13.

“ the closet, he either exercised his body in the dangers and fatigues of war, or his mind in the study of the sciences.”

The first Scipio Africanus used to say, (a) That he was never less idle than when at leisure, nor less alone, than when alone. A fine saying, cries Cicero, and well worthy of that great man. And it shews, that even when inactive, he was always employed; and that when alone he knew how to converse with himself. (b) A very extraordinary disposition in persons accustomed to motion and agitation, whom leisure and solitude, when they are reduced to them, (c) plunges into a disgust for every thing, and fills with melancholy; so that they are displeased in every thing with themselves, and sink *under the heavy burthen of having nothing to do.* This saying of the first Scipio seems to me to suit the Second still better, who having the advantage of the other by being educated in a taste for polite learning and the sciences, found in that a great resource against the inconvenience, of which we have been speaking. Besides which, having usually Polybius and Panætius with him, even in the field, it is easy to judge that his house was open in times of peace to all the Learned. Every body knows, that the comedies of Terence, the most accomplished work of that kind Rome ever produced for natural elegance and beauties, are ascribed to him and Lælius, of whom we shall soon speak. It was publickly enough reported, that they assisted that

(a) Nunquam se minus otiosum esse, quàm cum otiosus; nec minus solum, quàm cum solus esset. *De Offic. iii. 1.*

(b) Itaque duæ res, quæ languorem afferunt ceteris, il-

lum acuebant, otium & solitudo. *Ibid.*

(c) Hinc illud est tædium, & displicentia sui, & nusquam residentis animi volutatio, & otii sui tristis atque ægra patientia. *Senec. de tranq. anim. ii.*

poet

poet in the composition of his pieces; and Terence himself makes it an honour to him in the prologue to the *Adelphi*. I shall undoubtedly not advise any body, and least of all persons of Scipio's rank, to write comedies. But on this occasion let us only consider taste in general for letters. Is there a more ingenuous, more affecting pleasure, and one more worthy of a wise and virtuous man, I might perhaps add, or one more necessary to a military person, than that which results from reading works of wit, and the conversation of the Learned? (a) Providence thought fit, according to the observation of a Pagan, that he should be above those trivial pleasures, to which persons without letters, knowledge, curiosity and taste for reading are obliged to give themselves up.

Another kind of pleasure still more sensible, more warm, more natural, and more implanted in the heart of man, constituted the greatest felicity of Scipio's life: this was that of friendship; a pleasure, seldom known by great persons and Princes; because, generally loving only themselves they do not deserve to have friends. However this is the most grateful tie of human society; so that (b) the poet Ennius says with great reason, that to live without friends, is not to live. Scipio had undoubtedly a great number of them, and those very illustrious: but I shall speak here only of Lælius, whose probity and prudence acquired him the surname of the Wise.

Never perhaps were two friends better suited for each other than those great men. They were almost of the same age, and had the same inclina-

(a) Quanto plus delectationis habiturus, quam ex illis ineruditis voluptatibus! Dedit enim hoc Providentia munus hominibus, ut honesta

magis juvarent. *Quintil.* i. 11.

(b) Cui potest vita esse vitalis, qui non in amici mutua benevolentia conquiescat? *De Amicis.* 22.

tion, benevolence of mind, taste for learning of all kinds, principles of government, and zeal for the publick good. Scipio no doubt took place in point of military glory; but Lælius did not want merit of that kind; and Cicero tells us, that he signalized himself very much in the war with Viriathus. (a) As to the talents of the mind, the superiority in respect of eloquence seems to have been given to Lælius; though Cicero does not agree, that it was due to him, and says, that Lælius's style favoured more of the antient manner, and had something less agreeable in it, than that of Scipio.

Let us hear Lælius himself, (that is, the words Cic. de
Cicero puts into his mouth) upon the strict union, Amicit.
which subsisted between Scipio and him. “ (b) As 103, 104.
“ for me, says Lælius, of all the gifts of nature
“ or fortune, there are none I think comparable
“ to the happiness of having Scipio for my friend.
“ I found in our friendship a perfect conformity
“ of sentiments in respect to publick affairs; an
“ inexhaustible fund of counsels and supports in
“ private life; with a tranquillity and delight not
“ to be expressed. I never gave Scipio the least
“ offence to my knowledge, nor ever heard a

(a) De ipsius Lælii & Scipionis ingenio, quanquam ea jam est opinio ut plurimum tribuatur ambobus, dicendi tamen laus est in Lælio illustrior—sed multo vetustior & horridior ille, quam Scipio. Brut. 83.

(b) Equidem ex omnibus rebus, quas mihi aut fortuna aut natura tribuit, nihil habeo quod cum amicitia Scipionis possim comparare. In hac mihi de rep. consensus, in hac rerum privatarum consi-

lium, in eadem requies plena oblectationis fuit. Nunquam illum ne minimâ quidem re offendi, quod quidem senserim; nihil audiui ex eo ipse, quod nollem. Una domus erat, idem victus, isque communis. Neque solum militia, sed etiam peregrinationes rusticationesque communes. Nam quid ego de studiis dicam cognoscendi semper aliquid & discendi, in quibus, remoti ab oculis populi omne otiosum tempus contrivimus?

“ word

"word escape him, that did not please me. We
 "had but one house and one table at our common
 "expence, the frugality of which was equally
 "the taste of both. In war, in travelling, in
 "the country, we were always together. I do
 "not mention our studies, and the attention of us
 "both always to learn something; this was the
 "employment of all our leisure hours, removed
 "from the sight and commerce of the world."

Is there any thing comparable to a friendship
 like that which Lælius has just described? "What
 "a consolation is it to have a second self, to
 "whom we have nothing secret; and into
 "whose heart we may pour out our own with
 "perfect effusion! (a) Could we taste prosperity
 "so sensibly, if we had no one to share in our
 "joy with us? And what a relief is it in adversity
 "and the accidents of life, to have a friend still
 "more affected with them than ourselves?"
 What highly exalts the value of the friendship we
 speak of, was its not being founded at all upon
 interest, but solely upon esteem for each other's
 virtues. "What occasion, says Lælius, could
 "Scipio have of me? (b) Undoubtedly none,
 "nor I of him. But my attachment to him was
 "the effect of my high esteem and admiration of
 "his virtues; and his to me, from the favoura-
 "ble idea he had of my character and manners.

(a) Quid dulcius, quam ha-
 bere quicum audeas sic loqui,
 ut tecum? Quis esset tantus
 fructus in prosperis rebus, nisi
 haberes qui illis, æque ac tu
 ipse, gauderet? Adversas ve-
 ro ferre difficile esset sine eo
 qui illas etiam gravius quam
 tu, ferret. *De Amicit.* 22.

(b) Quid enim Africanus
 indigens mei? minime hercle;

ac ne ego quidem illius. Sed
 ego admiratione quadam virtu-
 tis ejus: ille vicissim opinione
 fortasse nonnulla, quam de
 meis moribus habebat, me di-
 lexit. Auxit benevolentiam
 consuetudo. Sed, quanquam
 utilitates multæ & magnæ con-
 secutæ sunt, non sunt tamen
 ab earum spe causæ diligendi
 profectæ. *De Amicit.* 30.

"This

“ This friendship increased afterwards on both
“ sides by habit and commerce. We both in-
“ deed derived great advantages from it: but
“ those were not our view, when we began to
“ love each other.”

An amity founded on such principles, especially between persons at the head of the most important affairs of the State, must have been very grave and serious. It undoubtedly was so, when occasions required it: but at other times it was attended with a gayety and innocent mirth not easily conceived. (a) When escaped from the city, as from a prison, they went to breathe at liberty in the country, it is incredible how those great men would play like boys together. They used to gather shells and little round and flat stones upon the coast of the sea, and descend to the most simple games, with no other view but to unbend themselves. Such amusements in persons of their merit argue a candour, simplicity and innocence of manners, that cannot be too much esteemed.

I cannot place the famous embassy of Scipio ^{Celebrated} Africanus into the East and Egypt better than ^{embassy of} here: we shall see the same taste of simplicity and ^{Scipio A-} modesty, as we have just been representing in his ^{frianus.} private life, shine out in it. It was a maxim with ^{Frein-} the Romans frequently to send Ambassadors to ^{Suppl. liii.} their allies to take cognizance of their affairs, and ^{19.} to accommodate their differences. It was with ^{A.R. 609.} this view that three illustrious persons, P. Scipio ^{Antient} Africanus, Sp. Mummius and L. Metellus, were ^{Hist. Vol.} IX.

(a) Sæpe ex focero meo au-
divi, (it is Crassus that speaks)
cùm is diceret focerum suum
Lælium semper ferè cum Sci-
pione solitum rusticari, eosque
incredibiliter repuerascere esse
solitos, cùm rus ex urbe, tan-
quam è vinculus, evolavissent.

Non audeo dicere de talibus
viris, sed tamen ita solet
narrare Scævola, conchas eos
& umbilicos ad Cajetam & ad
Laurentum legere consueſſe,
& ad omnem animi remissio-
nem ludumque descendere.
De Orat. ii. 22.

sent into Egypt, where Ptolomy Physcon then reigned, the most cruel tyrant mentioned in history. They had orders to go from thence to Syria, which the indolence, and afterwards the captivity, of Demetrius Nicator amongst the Parthians, made a prey to troubles, factions, and revolts. They were next to visit Asia Minor, and Greece, to inspect into the affairs of those countries, to enquire in what manner the treaties made with the Romans were observed, and to remedy, as far as possible, all the disorders that should come to their knowledge. They acquitted themselves with so much equity, wisdom and ability, and did such great services to those, to whom they were sent, in re-establishing order amongst them, and in accommodating their differences, that when they returned to Rome, Ambassadors arrived there from all the parts in which they had been, to thank the Senate for having sent persons of such great merit to them, whose wisdom and goodness they could not sufficiently commend.

The first place to which they went, according to their instructions, was Alexandria. The King received them with great magnificence. As for them, they affected it so little, that at their entry, Scipio, who was the richest and most powerful person of Rome, had only one friend, the Philosopher Panætius, with him, and five domesticks. (a) His victories, says an antient writer, and not his attendants, were considered; and his personal virtues and qualities were esteemed in him, and not the glitter of gold and silver.

Though during their whole stay in Egypt, the King caused their table to be covered with the most exquisite provisions of every kind, they

(a) Non mancipia ejus, sed quantum amplitudinis pondus
victoriæ numerabantur: nec secum ferret, æstimabatur. *Val.*
quantum auri & argenti, sed *Max.* iv. 3.

never touched any but the most simple and common, despising all the rest, which only serve to soften the mind, and enervate the body. But on such occasions, ought not the Ambassadors of so powerful a State as Rome to have sustained its reputation and majesty in a foreign nation by appearing in publick with a numerous train and magnificent equipages? This was not the taste of the Romans, that is, of the People of the whole earth, that thought the most justly of true greatness and solid glory.

When the Ambassadors had fully gratified their curiosity in seeing Alexandria, and had compleated the affairs which brought them thither, they went up the Nile to visit Memphis, and the other parts of Egypt. They either saw with their own eyes, or knew from exact informations taken upon the spot, the great number of towns, and the prodigious multitude of inhabitants, which that State contained; the strength its happy situation gave it; the fertility of its soil, and all the other advantages it enjoyed. They perceived, that it wanted nothing to make it powerful and formidable, but a Prince of capacity and application: for Physcon, who then reigned, was nothing less than a King. I have given his character after Justin in the Antient History. His belly was of so enormous a bigness, that he could not carry the load of flesh, which his intemperance had produced, and never appeared in publick, but in a chariot. He however made an effort to accompany Scipio. The latter, turning towards Panætius, said to him smiling: *The Alexandrians are obliged to us for seeing their King on foot.* What a contrast is there between this Prince, abandoned to all manner of vices, and Scipio, the model of wisdom and virtue! Accordingly Justin says, that instead of being like Physcon the object of his

Vol. IX.

subjects contempt, Scipio whilst he gratified his curiosity in visiting whatever was worthy of it in Alexandria, was himself a sight to the whole city. *Dum inspicit urbem, spectaculo Alexandris fuit.*

S E C T. II.

Affairs that happened at Rome. Censors. Generous constancy of the Tribunes of the People against one of their own Collegues. Census. Death of Cato's son, and of Lepidus the Pontifex Maximus. Galba, accused by Cato, is acquitted. Condemnation of Tubulus. Severe sentence of Manlius Torquatus against his son. Scipio Africanus accused. He accuses Cotta, who is acquitted. Singular conduct of Lælius in a pleading. Change in the government in respect to the Prætors. Censorship of Scipio. New superstitions proscribed. Law Calpurnia against extortions. Sumptuary laws passed at different times concerning the expences of the table. Abuse of the publick schools of salutation. Law Licinia concerning the election of Pontiffs. Scrutinies introduced at Rome in the election of the Magistrates. The method of scrutiny is also introduced in trials: then in the passing of laws: and lastly, in trial of State criminals. Wars abroad. Appius Claudius makes war against the Salassi, and triumphs by the aid of his daughter a vestal. The Ardyæni defeated, and subjected to the Romans. War of the slaves in Sicily. War with Aristonicus.

I Have omitted many detached facts in the course of history, which happened during the third Punic war, and that of Numantia. I proceed to relate them here before I go on further.

Affairs that happened at ROME.

M. Valerius Messala and C. Cassius Longinus A.R. 598.
 were created Censors the 598th year of Rome. Censors.
 The former had been degraded by the Censors Val Max.
 some years before: but he made so good an use of ii. 9.
 that disgrace, that he rendered himself worthy of
 the Censorship in the consequence.

Whilst Messala obliterated in this manner his Generous
 past ignominy by the new honours paid to his steadiness
 virtue, L. Cotta, Tribune of the People, disho- of the Tri-
 noured the office he held by a conduct highly un- bunes of
 worthy of a magistrate. Abusing the authority of the People
 the Tribuneship, which protected him from being against one
 sued by his creditors, he absolutely refused to pay of their
 them. His Collegues enraged, that he should make Collegues.
 so venerable and sacred an office an asylum for his Val. Max.
 avarice, and injustice, all rose up against him, and vi. 5.
 declared, that if he did not pay his debts, or give
 security for doing so, they would join with his
 creditors to reduce him to reason. Would it not
 be highly contrary to justice, that no officer should
 dare to signify a process to a magistrates in a consi-
 derable office?

The *Lustrum* which was closed under the Cen- A.R. 599.
 sors, of whom we have just spoken, was the fifty Census.
 fifth. The citizens were found by the *Census* to
 amount to three hundred and twenty four thou-
 sand.

The following year Cato lost his son, who was A.R. 600.
 then Prætor, and very dear to him. He might Death of
 have considered himself as double his father; be- Cato's so
 cause besides life, he had given him his education, Plut. in
 which he would confide to nobody but himself, Cat.
 having been his tutor both in literature, the study
 of the laws, and even the exercises of the body.
 Our manners make this almost incredible. But Pla-

tarch positively affirms that Cato himself taught his son to dart the javelin, to fence, to ride, to charge, to bear heat and cold, and to pass the most rapid rivers by swimming. He had been at the trouble of writing histories for him, and in large characters, with his own hand; being desirous that his son might not want so great an advantage as the knowledge of the antient deeds of his countrymen. He never let a word escape him in his presence, that was in the least repugnant to morality, and with as much caution as he would have observed before the vestal virgins. So much care and pains succeeded perfectly: and Plutarch observes, that Cato spoke of his son in his works, as an excellent person, and one equally distinguished by civil and military virtues. That young man was very happy in marriage, for which he was as much indebted to his own merit, at his father's reputation. His wife was Tertia, the daughter of Paulus Æmilius, and sister of the second Scipio Africanus; he left children at his death. His father was extremely afflicted by it, but however bore that misfortune with all the constancy of a philosopher, and did not lose a single moment of his application to the publick affairs on that account. As he was always an enemy to empty pomp, and vain expences, his funeral was only plain and decent.

*Death of
Lepidus
the great
Pontiff.
Epit. Liv.*

The same year died also the great Pontiff M. Æmilius Lepidus. He had in his will forbade any magnificent obsequies to be made for him; despising as well as Cato the useless ostentation of expence in the funerals of great persons. P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica was elected *Pontifex Maximus* in his room.

At the interval I am now upon I find there were several remarkable trials, which I proceed to relate in their orders,

The first that occurs is that of Galba, accused A.R. 603. before the People for the horrid massacre of the Lusitanians with equal perfidy and cruelty. *L. See above.* Scribonius Libo, Tribune of the People, was his accuser. But a more formidable adversary, Cato, *Galba accused by Cato, is acquitted.* who after his Consulship, which he had passed in Spain, had declared himself the defender and patron of that province, joined the Tribune, and supported him with all his credit and eloquence. According to Livy he was then * ninety years old: but his zeal for the publick good and justice animated him, and he had still sufficient spirits to harangue the People, and to exhort them not to suffer the crime to go unpunished.

Galba was one of the most illustrious Orators of Cic. de his time; of which we shall soon cite a proof. *Orat. 227.* His principal excellency was in moving the passions, in which eloquence displays itself most, and *228. Brut. 89, 90.* exercises its greatest power over the mind. His crime was notorious, and drew upon him general *Val. Max. viii. 1.* indignation. But his judges were the multitude, that easily pass from one extremity to another, and with whom opinion frequently takes place of reason. He took the advantage of this propensity, and spared no pains to mollify the People, and move their compassion. Accordingly in his defence he endeavoured to disguise the fact as much as possible. But (a) his principal resource was a fight

* According to Cicero he lived but to the age of eighty five.

(a) Reprehendebat Galbam Rutilius, quod is C. Sulpicii Galli, propinqui sui, Q. pupillum filium ipse pene in humeros suos extulisset, qui patris clarissimi recordatione & memoria fletum populo mo-

veret, & duos filios suos parvos tutelæ populi commendasset, ac se, tanquam in pro-cinctu testamentum faceret, sine libra atque tabulis populū Romanum tutorem instituere dixisset illorum orbitati. Itaque cum & invidia & odio populi tum Galba premeretur, his quoque cum tragædiis libe-

fight, which he presented to the eyes of the judges. C. Sulpicius Galba, his near relation a Senator universally esteemed, had by his will appointed him guardian of a son of very tender years at his death. He made him appear in the Forum carrying him almost upon his own shoulders, bringing with him at the same time his own two sons, who were also very young. Then, after having expatiated in the most moving terms with tears in his eyes, upon the deplorable condition of his whole unfortunate family, considering himself as one upon the brink of destruction, he compared himself to soldiers that made their will before a battle, and recommended those tender infants to the Roman People, leaving them under their care and tuition. This sight, attended with the discourse and tears of a vehement orator, moved and changed every body. The just indignation they had conceived on the meer relation of Galba's cruel treachery to the Spaniards on a sudden gave place to compassion and indulgence; and the person whom every body in their thoughts had deemed unworthy of grace, was acquitted without a single suffrage against him: such force and sway has eloquence over mankind!

Condemnation of Tubulus. Another criminal, some years after, was not so fortunate. This was L. Hostilius Tubulus, a man equally void of honour and shame, who during the year of his Prætorship, when he presided in trying assassins, had publickly sold justice, without observing any measures. As soon as his term of office expired, P. Scævola, Tribune of the People attacked him; and the trial was referred

raturum ferebat. Quod item apud Catonem scriptum video: *Nisi pueris & lacrymis usus esset, pœnas eum daturum fuisse.* De Orat. i.

Eo facto mitigata concione, qui omnium consensu petiturus erat, penè nullum triste suffragium habuit. Val. Max.

to the decision of Cn. Servilius Cæpio, one of the Consuls. Tubulus did not stay till it was to come on, and disappeared. It was a frequent custom at Rome to be satisfied with this voluntary banishment, to which criminals condemned themselves. But so a vile a wretch as this was thought unworthy of so gentle a punishment. Tubulus was cited to appear, and foreseeing that he should be condemned to be strangled in prison, he chose rather to poison himself.

The following year gives us an example of *Severe sentence of* paternal severity capable of making one tremble. *Manlius* Deputies from Macedonia laid complaints before the Senate against D. Silanus, who during his *Torquatus* command in that province, had committed many *upon his* oppressions in it. Manlius Torquatus, the * *Val. Max.* father of the accused, a Senator of extraordinary *v. 8.* merit, desired that no sentence might be passed upon his son, till he had examined into the affair himself. No difficulty was made to grant him this, as every body placed great confidence in his abilities and probity. He heard both sides during two days, and on the third declared his son guilty, and in consequence forbade him ever to appear before him. Silanus, after so sad a sentence could no longer support the light, and hanged himself out of despair. The father, through a rigour it is hard to praise, would not so much as assist at his funeral; but being of the profession of the bar, remained calmly at home, answering those who came to consult him as usual. This behaviour speaks the heir and descendant of that Manlius Torquatus, who had caused the head of his victorious son to be cut off. But ought this zeal to be carried so far as to stifle the sentiments of nature?

* *The son of Manlius had been adopted by one Silanus.*

Scipio Africanus accused.

Freinsh.
Suppl.
Liv. 32.

A.R. 613,
or 614.

No glory, no services rendered the State, exempted a Roman citizen from the vexations of the Tribunes. We have seen a glaring example of this in the person of the first Scipio Africanus. The second experienced the same trial, but extricated himself more successfully. He had been Censor, and whilst he exercised that office, would have noted and degraded Claudius Asellus a Roman Knight, who was protected from this disgrace solely by the opposition of the other Censor Mummius. This Claudius retained the warmest resentment against Scipio, and being become Tribune, he accused him before the People; on what pretence and for what crime the monuments come down to us are silent. Scipio wonderfully sustained his character of magnanimity. He did not put on mourning nor appear as a suppliant; and even derided his adversary with an air of superiority that sat very well upon so great a man. This affair had no consequence.

He accuses Cotta, who is acquitted.
Cic. Divin. in Cæcil. n. 69. & pro Mur. n. 58.
Val. Max. viii. i.

Scipio himself, several years after, and when he had added the destruction of Numantia to that of Carthage, accused L. Cotta. The authors, who speak of this affair, do not mention the occasion of it; but suppose, that Cotta was undoubtedly guilty. The cause was pleaded seven times before judgment was passed. For the Romans knew nothing of proceedings in writing: and when a cause after having been pleaded on both sides did not appear sufficiently clear, they decreed, that it should be reheard at new expences. At length the eighth time that Cotta's affair came on, he was acquitted. It is said, that the accuser's too great power saved the accused; the judges having apprehended, that the condemnation of Cotta might be ascribed to Scipio's credit. A weak pretext this. It would indeed be horrid iniquity, that the power of an adversary should cause an innocent person

person to be condemned : but that is no just reason for acquitting a criminal.

I cannot conclude what regards trials better, *Singular conduct of Lælius in respect to pleading a cause.* than by a fact, which in my opinion reflects great honour upon the Roman Bar, and still more upon Lælius, Scipio's friend. He was to plead a criminal affair in which some publicans, or farmers of the publick revenues were concerned, the cognizance of which the Senate had referred to the Consuls. He pleaded with his usual exactness and elegance. But the Consuls were not convinced and decreed it should be heard a second time. A new pleading of Lælius, still more elaborate and precise ensued, and judgment was still respited, and a new trial ordered. The farmers re-conducted Lælius to his house, expressing the utmost gratitude, and desiring him not to be discouraged. He answered, " that he had the greatest consideration " for them ; and that he had manifested it by taking " this affair upon him. That he had employed all the " pains in it, of which he was capable. But that the " best they could do, would be to apply to Galba, " who being a more vehement orator than himself, " would throw more warmth and force into the " manner of pleading their cause, and probably " carry it in their favour." They took his advice, and applied to Galba, who, being to supply the place of so great a man, long refused to take their defence upon him, and was scarce prevailed upon at length to do so by their earnest solicitations. He employed all the next day in studying the cause, making himself perfectly master of it, and in preparing and disposing his proofs. The third day, which was that on which it was to be heard, he shut himself up in a detached vaulted closet, with some learned slaves, who were his secretaries. When he was informed, that the Consuls had taken their places, he quitted his closet with his visage and

and eyes all in flames, as if he had just been pronouncing his pleading. It was even observed, that his slaves had been treated with severity, a proof that he was as violent a master as he was a vehement orator. The audience was very numerous, and in great expectation; and Lælius was present. Galba began to speak with so much force and eloquence, that he was interrupted by applauses at almost every part of his pleading, and he so happily employed both the force of proofs and the vehemence of passions, that the Farmers entirely carried their cause, and were acquitted.

Such a success in these circumstances did Galba great honour: but the modest and equitable behaviour of Lælius was no less admired; which shewed, (a) that in those times the persons of the first rank at the bar were void of all mean jealousy, did each other justice, and were glad to praise the merit and talents of others. We (b) also see on this occasion, that there is no equality between the two kinds of eloquence; of which the one confines itself to informing the judges with exactness and perspicuity, and the other in a manner ravishes their consent by an irresistible violence; and that the latter infinitely excels the former.

*Change in
the go-
vernment
in respect
to the
Prætors.*

I have said that Tubulus, who was condemned in the 611th year, had presided as Prætor in trials for assassination. It was therefore before that

(a) *Erat omnino tum mos, ut in reliquis rebus melior, sic in hoc ipso humanior, ut faciles essent in suum cuique tribuendo. Brut.*

(b) *Ex hac Rutiliana narratione suspicari licet cum duæ summæ sint in Oratore laudes,*

una subtiliter disputandi ad docendum, altera graviter agendi ad animos audientium permovendos; multoque plus proficiat is qui inflammet Judicem, quàm ille qui doceat: elegantiam in Lælio, vim in Galba fuisse. Brut.

time,

time, that a change had been made with regard to the Prætors in the polity of the government of Rome, and in the administration of justice. It consists in this; that as before, of the six Prætors two only remained at Rome to preside in trying civil causes, and the four others went either to govern the provinces of the empire, or command the armies, it was decreed at the time, of which we are speaking, that they should all pass the whole year of their Prætorship in the city; two with the usual functions, and the other four to take cognizance of certain crimes. It was in this manner, that the *Quæstiones perpetuæ* were instituted, that is, the ordinary tribunals for trying the crimes of caballing, peculation, &c. After having passed the year of their Prætorships in these functions, they were all six sent to govern the provinces in the quality of Proprætors. All this has been related more at large in a dissertation at the end of the second volume of the Roman History.

Two motives probably occasioned this change to be made: the one that the empire having been considerably enlarged by the conquest of Africa, Macedonia, and Achaia, four Prætors were too few for the number of the provinces. The other, that licentiousness and disorders augmenting, the necessity of the ordinary tribunals for checking crimes and punishing criminals, was obvious.

Scipio in his Censorship used his utmost efforts against degeneracy of manners, and the abuses of every kind, that had been introduced at Rome. But all his zeal was rendered ineffectual by the too great facility of his Collegue, L. Mummius, a man of merit in many instances, but simple, easy to be deceived, and of that kind of good disposition, that degenerates into weakness. Accordingly, whilst Scipio examined into the conduct

A.R. 610.
*Censorship
of Scipio.*

Diod.
apud Val.
et les.

Val. Max.
vi. 1.

duct of the Senators, Knights, and common People with severity, and employed the whole authority of his office in reforming vices, Mummius noted none, or even discharged all those that he could, who had been noted by his Collegue. Scipio could not help complaining of this, and said one day, in a full assembly of the People, "that he should have exercised the Censorship in a manner worthy of the majesty of the Commonwealth, if he had either had no Collegue, or a Collegue."

Val. Max.
iv. 1.

Scipio however did not carry his severity to excess, of which we have a proof in the manner he acted in respect to a Roman Knight called C. Licinius Sacerdos. At the review of the Knights, when it came to his turn to present himself to the Censors, Scipio said with a loud voice: *I know, that C. Licinius is perjured, and if any body will accuse him, I'll be a witness against him.* No body offering themselves, Scipio addressing himself to Licinius ordered him to pass. *I will not note you,* said he, *that it may not be said, I acted the part of accuser, judge, and witness in respect to you.* Upon which Cicero makes this fine reflexion: "Therefore (a) this great man, to whose judgment not only the Roman People, but foreign nations referred themselves, did not think his own consciousness sufficed, when the question was to degrade a citizen."

I shall relate another memorable circumstance in Scipio's Censorship. On the closing of the *Census* it was the custom to implore the gods by a prayer to augment the power of the Roman People. When the register according to that custom

(a) Itaque is cujus arbitrio & populus Romanus & exteræ gentes contentæ esse consueverant, ipse suâ conscientia ad

ignominiam alterius contentus non fuit. *Cic. pro Cl.* n. 134.

read this form, Scipio said, *Our power is great enough. All that we ought to ask of the gods, is to preserve it in the same State.* And he immediately caused the form to be amended, and it remained as he had dictated it from thenceforth.

In the *Census* made by the Censors Scipio and Mummius, the citizens were found to be three hundred and twenty eight thousand three hundred, and forty two.

I ought not to omit here the wise precaution A.R. 612. taken by the Senate to banish the astrologers from Rome, and to prohibit a new worship of Jupiter *Sabazius*, which had been introduced there. We New superstition proscribed. Val. Max. have examples of the attention of the Romans to reform new and foreign superstitions in all times: happy had it been, if the old ones, which were often as absurd and shameful as those they proscribed, had not gained greater credit with them!

Livy (a) somewhere says, that in the same manner as diseases are known before remedies to Law Calpurnia against oppression. Brut. 106. cure them, so are the crimes which call for the redress of laws. Thus the avarice and injustice of the Roman Magistrates, which continually increased, occasioned a very wise law, by which the States, whom the Governors of provinces had oppressed and plundered, were authorized to apply to the Judges for restitution of what had been unjustly taken from them. *Lex Calpurnia de pecuniis repetundis.* It was proposed by L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi Tribune, of the People, in the beginning of the third Punic war in the Consulship of L. Marcius Censorinus and M. Manilius. It was perhaps this law, that acquired this Tribune the honourable surname of FRUGI, honest man.

(a) Sicut antè morbos necesse est cognitos esse, quàm prius natæ sunt, quàm leges quæ iis modum facerent. *Liv.* xxxiv. 3.

*Sumptuary
laws pass-
ed at diffe-
rent
times to
regulate
the ex-
pences of
the table.*
Macrob.

11. 13.

Macrob.

Macrob.

ibid.

Aul. Gell.

11. 24.

The excessive expences made at Rome in entertainments were also the occasion of passing different laws for putting a stop to the luxury of the Table.

The law ORCHIA was the first, so called from C. Orchius, Tribune of the People, who proposed it in the 569th year of Rome, in the Consulship of Q. Fabius Labeo and M. Claudius Marcellus. It only prescribed the number of the guests. Cato often complained in his harangues, that it was not observed.

Twenty two years after, that is, in the 591st of Rome, appeared the law FANNIA. The former, far from remedying the evil, had only augmented it in leaving persons at liberty to be at what expence they pleased, provided they did not exceed the number of guests prescribed by it: this went to the root of the evil, by fixing the expence itself. It was preceded by a decree of the Senate, which ordained that the principal citizens, who at the time of the games in honour of the mother of the gods made entertainments for each other, should take an oath to the Consuls not to expend at each of them above an hundred and twenty *asses*, or thirty sesterces, that is, about three shillings and six-pence of our money, exclusively of garden-stuff, pastry, and wine; that they should use no wine but of the growth of the country; and should have no plate exceeding an hundred pounds in weight (about the same weight *Troy*.) The law *Fannia*, which was passed in consequence of this resolution of the Senate, was more express in respect to the distinction of the days, allowing an hundred *asses* for entertainments on certain festivals, thirty *asses* ten times a month, and only ten on the other days, which are about three-pence of our money. This law was called *Fannia* from the Consul Fannius, who proposed it.

The

The law DIDTA was instituted eighteen years after, *An. Rom.* 609. It decreed, that not only the city of Rome, but all Italy, and every guest, as well as the person who gave the entertainment, should be subject to the penalties of the law *Fannia*.

The law LICINIA is ascribed by several of the Learned to the 642d year of Rome. P. Licinius Crassus Dives, then Tribune, was its author.

Macrobian. Aul. Gell. ii. 24.

The warmth for putting it in execution was so great, that the Senate decreed it should be observed as soon as proposed, without waiting till it had received its final authority from the suffrages of the People, which could not take place according to custom, till after three market-days, that is, till twenty seven days after its promulgation. It differed little from the law *Fannia*, and was only a kind of confirmation of it. It decreed, that on the Calends, Nones, and Market-days, the citizens should not expend above thirty *asses*, that is less than sixpence of our money; and that on the other not excepted days, no more than three pound of flesh, and one of salt meat should be used, without including fruits.

Some other regulations were afterwards made: but luxury, always too strong for the laws, continually broke the barriers pains were taken to oppose to it.

I am amazed, that these Legislators, so severe against the luxury of the table, did not extend their views to another abuse, against which Scipio inveighs with vehemence, in a discourse, of which Macrobius has preserved a fragment. This abuse consisted in the suffering of publick schools at Rome to be kept by Comedians, to which young persons of both sexes were sent to learn the art of gesture, and to declaim, the art of accompanying the pronunciation of verses with motions of the

Abuse of the publick schools of saltation.

Sat. ii. 10.

body. These masters, who were of loose manners, often taught their pupils to perform lascivious motions, entirely capable of extinguishing all sense of modesty. Scipio makes bitter complaints of this practice. "Our (a) youth, says he, go to the school of the actors to learn to pronounce verses as on the stage; an exercise, which our ancestors considered as a profession for slaves. Boys, and girls of condition, came to these schools. But in what company were they? I have myself seen, adds he, a boy in one of these schools, (which sight made me deplore the fate of the Commonwealth) I have seen a boy, I say, the son of one who was actually a candidate for office, performing a speech to the sound of a kind of tabor, or a dance, capable of making a slave void of shame blush." Such an education must undoubtedly have had a great tendency to corruption of manners. To what enormities must not a youth so educated naturally give themselves up!

The laws, of which it remains for me to speak, have a different view from the preceding. They tend either to aggrandize the power of the People, or to exempt them from dependence on the Great.

(a) Eunt in ludum histri-
onum; discunt cantare: quæ
maiores nostri ingenuis probò
duciæ voluerunt. Eunt, in-
quam, in ludum saltatorium in-
ter cinctos virgines puerique
ingenui. — In his (vidi) u-
num, quod me Reipublicæ

maxime misertum est, puerum
bullatum petitoris filium non
minorem annis duodecim cum
crotalis saltare, quam saltatio-
nem impudicus servulus ho-
neste saltare non posset. *Scipio*
apud Macrob. *

* In the interpretation of this passage I have followed the *Abbé Du Bos* upon saltation. See *Reflexion upon Painting and Poetry*, Vol. III. Sect. 13.

The Tribune C. Cicinius Crassus, to make his court to the People, and mortify the Senate, proposed a change in the creation of the Pontiffs, and to transfer the choice of them to the People; whereas hitherto it had always been made by the college of Pontiffs themselves. Lælius, then Prætor, spoke strongly against this proposal, shewing how dangerous it was to make any innovations in matters of Religion. This motive, to which the multitude is very sensible, caused a law entirely popular to be rejected by the suffrages of the People.

A.R. 606.
Law Licinia concerning the election of Pontiffs.
Cic. de Amic. 96.

The next laws regard secrecy in giving suffrages, concerning which the persons of consequence seem to have been divided in opinion. Till the 613th year of Rome, the suffrages had been given *viva voce* in chusing magistrates: and it does not appear, that this manner of proceeding in electing them had any inconvenience, as no change had ever been proposed in it. It had even this advantage, when any one proposed persons without merit for offices, the sounder part of the citizens could make him sensible of the consequences, and bring him over to a better opinion. We have often seen that the People, especially on important occasions, came readily into the sentiments and remonstrances of the citizens, who made the publick good their view.

A.R. 613.
Scrutiny introduced at Rome in the election of magistrates.
Cic. de Leg. iii. 34.

But when the great and powerful began publickly to abuse their authority in order to give the law in elections, employing not only promises, but even menaces and violence, the People conceived thoughts of preserving their liberty from their attempts, by no longer giving their suffrages *viva voce*, but by scrutiny; so that each citizen threw into a locked vote-box, that had an opening at top, a note with the name of the person he voted for, inscribed upon it. Cicero elegantly defines

De Leg. Agrar. ad Nep. n. 4. this method of proceeding in elections, *tabellam vindicem tacite libertatis*: "A certain method of preserving the liberty of suffrages by the secrecy of scrutiny." But on another side this method is only more liable to corruption, delivering those who do ill from the shame of being known. Human things are of this kind, and always have two aspects.

However it were, this law which established the method of scrutiny for the election of the magistrates, was called *Gabinia*, from the name of *Gabinus*, Tribune of the People, who proposed it. He was a man of neither birth nor merit.

The method of scrutiny is also introduced in trials.

De leg. iii. 34, 35. Brut.

Two years after also, the same method of scrutiny was introduced also in trials by *L. Cassius*, Tribune of the People, and from his name the law was called *Cassia*. The Consul *Æmilius*, famous for his eloquence, employed the whole force of it for preserving the antient custom. One of *Cassius's* Collegues also opposed it: but he at length rose up, and it was believed, that he desisted by the advice of *Scipio Africanus*. Thus the law was accepted.

Afterwards in the making of laws.

De Leg. iii. 34.

And lastly in trials for treason.

Ibid. 36.

Carbo, a very seditious citizen, extended it to the Assemblies of the People in which the institution of laws was determined.

Only one kind of trials were exempted from the method of scrutiny: These were those before the People for crimes of high treasons. *Cassius* had expressly excepted this single case. *Cælius* introduced scrutiny also in this point; and, if we may believe *Cicero*, he repented it all his life.

WARS ABROAD.

To compleat the relation of all that I have left untouched, it remains for me to speak of two wars of little importance, and of that of the slaves
in

in Sicily, which gave the Romans great employment.

Ap. Claudius being Consul with Q. Metellus A.R. 608. Macedonius, had Gaul for his province. The Appius Claudius makes war on the Salassi, and triumphs by the help of his daughter a vestal. Freinsh. Suppl. liii. 6—8.

Salassi, who inhabited the country, now called *the valley of Aoste*, had a quarrel with their neighbours concerning a river necessary to the working of certain gold mines then successfully carried on in that country. Appius was appointed to terminate this difference. But proud and haughty, like all the rest of his family, and besides jealous of the glory of his Collegue, he was resolved at all events to acquire the honour of a triumph. He therefore gave the cause entirely for the neighbours of the Salassi, whom he thereby reduced to take arms. He was defeated in a first battle, and lost five thousand men. But he had his revenge afterwards, and killed the Salassi five thousand on their side. This was a great loss for that People. They submitted in consequence: and Appius returned to Rome, so fully assured that he deserved a triumph, that he did not so much as demand it, but only asked a decree for being permitted to take the money for defraying the expences of it out of the publick treasury. This being refused, he took the expence upon himself, and undertook to triumph. A Tribune of the People opposed it, and even threatened to have him pulled by force out of his chariot. Claudia, the daughter of Appius, who was a Vestal, saved her father from this affront. She placed herself by his side in his chariot, and the Tribune, respecting in her the sacred character with which she was invested, did not venture to execute his menace. Thus triumphed Appius, with more glory to his daughter, than himself.

The Ardyæni, a People of Illyricum, had ravaged the lands of some of the Roman allies, The Ardyæni conquered and subjected to the Romans. Freinsh. Suppl. liv. and 19—21.

and even part of Italy in their neighbourhood. The Senate having caused complaints to be made to them ineffectually by Deputies, sent a body of ten thousand foot and five hundred horse against them. On the sight of this army, the Barbarians submitted to all the conditions it was thought proper to impose upon them. They soon forgot their promises, and renewed their ravages. The Consul Ser. Fulvius Flaccus was ordered to march against them, who soon reduced them to reason; and in order to put a final end to their courses, he removed them from the sea into the midland country. Being forced there to apply themselves to husbandry for subsistence, they became as pacifick as they had before been turbulent and unruly.

War of the Slaves in SICILY.

Diod. a-
pud Phot.
& Valef.

From the end of the second Punic war, that is during more than sixty years, Sicily had enjoyed profound tranquillity, and in the arms of peace had applied solely to the cultivation of lands, and the corn-trade, in which its whole wealth consisted. (a) Accordingly the wise Cato called it the granary of the commonwealth, and the nursing-mother of the Roman People. This trade enriched not only the inhabitants of the island, but a great (b) number of Roman citizens, who invited by the nearness of situation, went thither regularly every year to make considerable purchases of grain; or

(a) Itaque ille M. Cato Sapiens cellam penariam reipublicæ nostræ, nutricem plebis Romanæ, Siciliam nominavit. *Cic. in Verr.* II. 5.

(b) Multis locupletioribus civibus utimur quod habent propinquam, fidelem, fructuo-

samque provinciam—quos illa partim mercibus suppeditandis cum quæstu compendioque dimittit; partim retinet, ut arare, ut pascere, ut negotiari libeat, ut denique sedes ac domicilium collocare. *Ibid.* 6.

settled

settled there with their families, and cultivated the lands they had acquired there.

It is easy to conceive, that a great number of slaves were necessary for cultivating a country of such great extent and fertility as Sicily. We shall see that the number of those, who took arms, amounted to almost two hundred thousand. This multitude of slaves would have been of great advantage to Sicily, if their masters had treated them with humanity; and they had been in the least of the character of the person to whom Seneca writes in these terms: "I hear (a) with joy from those that come from you, that you live familiarly with your slaves. This agrees well with one of your prudence and learning. But, some may say, they are slaves. They ought rather to say they are men, companions, nay friends of an inferior class. — Continue to be loved and respected, rather than feared by your slaves. It was thus the antient Romans lived. Our forefathers called the master of the house, the father of the family; and his servants and slaves, his family." Corruption of manners has changed this fine order.

When luxury, the natural consequence of great riches, had gained ground amongst the inhabitants of this island, it extinguished all sense of equity and humanity in their minds, and (b) the slaves were treated not like men, but beasts, and with more cruelty than beasts: for care is taken to feed

(a) Libenter ex his qui a te veniunt cognovi, familiariter te cum servis tuis vivere. Hoc prudentiam tuam, hoc eruditionem decet. Servi sunt? imo homines. Servi sunt? imo contubernales. Servi sunt? imo humiles amici. — Colant potius te, quam timeant — Ma-

jores nostri dominum, patrem familie appellaverunt: servos, familiares. *Senec. Epist. 47.*

(b) Asia interim crudelia & inhumana prætereo, quod nec tanquam hominibus quidem, sed tanquam jumentis abutimur. *Senec. Epist. 47.*

oxen and horses to enable them to perform all the service they can; whereas these inhuman rich men frequently refuse their slaves the most indispensable necessities of life, not to mention the blows and other barbarous usage inflicted upon them.

Those unhappy wretches, driven to extremity by want, took to robbing; and as the credit of their masters prevented the Prætors from doing justice upon these thieves, there was soon no security throughout Sicily, it became a very murderous abode. This trade of robbing was an exercise which prepared the slaves for war, in accustoming them to rapine and violence, enuring their bodies to fatigues, and rendering their courage more savage and brutal. In their meetings they reproached each other, that being, as they were, a numerous and flourishing youth, they should be solely employed in feeding the pomp and luxury of a small number of voluptuous men. Every thing tended to a general revolt.

One Eunus, a native of Syria, then the slave of a citizen of Enna, called Antigènes, was very active in fomenting this disposition. He boasted his skill in magick, and pretended to know future events, and to converse with the gods, who had assured him, that he should one day be a King. In venting his pretended oracles, he breathed flames out of his mouth, in which he held a nut with an hole at each end, full of combustible matter that he had set on fire. His master diverted himself with seeing him play these tricks, and far from opposing them, carried him with him to the houses where he ate, to divert the company. There he was interrogated concerning his future Sovereignty; the guests by way of joke desired him to have them in his favour, when he came to be King; and upon his assurances, that he would
treat

treat them in a very kind and gracious manner, he was rewarded with something good from the table. This manner of jesting soon became a very serious affair, and the kindness of those, who had familiarized themselves thus with this slave, was rewarded by very effectual and essential services.

The conspiracy broke out at the house of Damophilus. He was one of the richest inhabitants of Enna, and master of a prodigious number of slaves, whom he treated with unheard of barbarity and cruelty; an haughty, insolent, brutal man, who had the train and equipage of a Prince, and made entertainments, that exceeded all that has ever been said of those of Persia in magnificence. His wife, Megallis, the worthy spouse of such an husband, imitated his haughtiness and cruelty in every thing. Their slaves, to the number of four hundred, were the first that set up the standard of revolt. After having consulted Eunus, who promised them good success in the name of the gods, they placed him at their head, and having armed themselves as well as they could with staves, palfades, spits, and whatever they could find, they entered Enna in good order; and all the slaves in the city having joined them, they plundered the houses, and committed all kinds of excesses and cruelties in them. Knowing that Damophilus and his wife were at their country-house, which was very nigh, they seized them, dragged them into the city in chains, and having carried them to the theatre, which was the place of the assembly, they accused them in form, tried them, massacred Damophilus upon the spot, and delivered up Megallis to the female slaves, who after having made her suffer a thousand indignities, threw her head long from the top of a tower or some rock.

The

The fate of this merciless master's daughter is entirely remarkable. She was of a quite different character from her father and mother, and full of good-nature, humanity, and compassion for those who suffered. She consoled those unhappy slaves when they had been cruelly ill-used and beaten. If they were put in prison, she carried them provisions. In a word, she relieved them in all things to the utmost of her power. By this conduct she had gained their hearts; and experienced that effect very happily on this occasion. This insolent and brutal multitude, amidst their greatest fury, remembered her goodness to them. They treated her with respect, paid her all kinds of honours, and caused her to be conducted in safety to relations of hers at Catana.

Eunus also kept his word with the inhabitants of Enna, to whom he had promised his protection. He saved them from the slaughter in which all the rest of the city were involved.

As he had acquired great authority by his juggling tricks and fanaticism, the revolted slaves declared him their King. There was no occasion for violence to make him comply with their choice. He immediately assumed the sceptre, diadem, and other marks of the sovereignty. He appointed his officers, gave his female * companion, who as well as himself was a Syrian, the name of Queen, caused himself to be called Antiochus, and decreed that his new subjects should take the name of Syrians. In less than three days six thousand men joined him, who armed themselves as well as they could. He ran from city to city, and town to town, set open all the places where slaves were shut up, and augmented

* I use this term, because marriage between slaves was not authorized by the laws.

his forces to such a degree, that he ventured to come to blows with the Roman troops sent against him, and defeated them on several occasions.

Cleon, on another side, in imitation of Eunus, having put himself at the head of a body of slaves, began to ruin the territory of Agrigentum, and in the space of thirty days drew together five thousand men. It was believed at first, that these two bodies of slaves, divided in interest, would destroy each other. But this proved a mistake. On the first order that Cleon received from Eunus, he declared for him, and went with his troops to submit to the command of the new King.

It is easy to judge what horrid ravages and cruelties a multitude of domestick enemies committed against Sicily, who knew neither laws, shame, nor sentiments of humanity. Diodorus Siculus tells us, that they treated prisoners of war with the utmost barbarity, cutting off their hands and even their whole arms. The same author has preserved a deplorable adventure, which it is impossible to read without being much affected. Gorgus, one of the most illustrious and richest citizens of Murgantia, being abroad to hunt, perceived a band of these robbers coming towards him. He immediately fled towards the city; but as he was on foot, he had little hopes of escaping. At this instant his father arrived on horseback, and immediately dismounted to make his son get up. The son could not resolve to save his life by abandoning his father to perish; and the father had the same sentiments in respect to the son. They disputed, and intreated each other with tears, without being able to prevail on either side. This mutual tenderness was fatal to both. The robbers arrived, and massacred father and son together.

The

The battles with the Romans were no less successful to the rebels, than their robberies. Florus mentions to the number of four Prætors, who were beaten by them, Manilius, Lentulus, Piso, and Hypsæus. So many victories very much augmented Eunus's army; that now amounted to seventy thousand men; and it was believed, that adding all that had revolted in the different parts of Sicily together, they would form the number of two hundred thousand. The Romans then perceived, that these revolts merited great attention, and they sent the consul, C. Fulvius, the Collegue of Scipio Africanus, into Sicily. It does not appear, that this General gained any great advantages.

A.R. 618.

This spirit of revolt, like a contagious disease, spread into Italy, and even into the city of Rome. A conspiracy formed by an hundred and twenty slaves was discovered there. They were seized, and put to death. It was known, from their own confession, that the slaves of several cities of Italy had entered into this conspiracy. Q. Metellus and Cn. Servilius Cæpio were charged with this affair. They destroyed four thousand slaves at Sinuessæ; and caused four hundred and fifty to be hanged at Minturnæ.

A.R. 619.

Val. Max.

ii. 7.

Frontin.

iv. 1.

This evil shewed itself in several provinces: but in Sicily especially it continued to make strange havock. The Consul L. Calpurnius Piso, who had succeeded Fulvius, put a stop to its progress by the good order and severity of discipline he re-established amongst the troops. C. Titius, who commanded a body of cavalry, having suffered himself to be surrounded by the slaves, had surrendered to them, and delivered up his arms, on condition of having his life saved. Piso condemned him to remain, during all the time he should

should serve, from morning to night bare-foot in the principal place of the camp, in a robe cut ignominiously, and a tunic without a girdle, all marks of infamy. He was forbade to frequent the baths, or go to any entertainment; and all his men were dismounted, and obliged to serve in the companies of slingers, who were considered as the meanest corps in the army. So distinguished a punishment kept all the troops and officers to their duty, and was followed by good success. The rebels incensed against the Mamertines, who had alone kept their slaves in obedience and submission, because they had always treated them with goodness and humanity, actually besieged their city, Messina, with numerous troops. Piso made his army march against them, and gave them battle. Eight thousand remained upon the spot, and all that were taken prisoners were crucified. In distributing the rewards to those, who had signalized themselves in the battle, he declared that his son deserved a crown of gold of three pounds in weight; but, as it did not become a magistrate to put the Commonwealth to the expence of a present, that was to enter his own house, he would distinguish the honour of the reward from the value of the matter; that (a) as his General he actually granted him the honour, but as his father he would secure the value to him by his will. Such a delicacy confirms the surname of *Frugi* that had been given to Piso, and is worthy of him, who had first established the law against the extortion of magistrates.

Val. Max.
iv. 3.

It was the Consul P. Rupilius, who had the A.R. 620. honour of having terminated the war of the slaves

(a) Ut honorem publicè à duce, pretium à patre privatim acciperet.

in Sicily. They were in possession of many places: but two in particular constituted their strength, Enna and Tauromenium; and Rupilius conceived, that if he could take them, it would be a certain means to purge Sicily of them, and entirely to extirpate them. He began with Tauromenium, a very well fortified city, which made a long and vigorous defence. As the Consul was master at sea, it could receive no provisions on that side; and all the convoys by land were intercepted. The famine became so horrible, that they ate their own wives and children. The city was at length taken, and all the slaves that remained were put to death, after having suffered the most cruel torments.

The Consul then moved to Enna. That city was considered as impregnable, and had a numerous garrison: but it soon wanted provisions. Cleon, who commanded in it, having made a salley with all his best troops, after having long fought like a desperate man, who expected no quarter from the enemy, was at length taken, and died some days after of his wounds. His dead body, which was exposed to the view of the besieged, entirely discouraged them. Some, to have their lives saved, delivered up the place to the Romans by treachery. Twenty thousand slaves perished in these two cities.

Eunus, that imaginary King, escaped into steep and almost inaccessible places, with six hundred men, that composed his guard. Rupilius pursued them thither and attacked them vigorously. He soon reduced them to despair, and they all killed one another, to avoid the shame and cruel torments prepared for them. Eunus was too desirous of life to follow their example: he hid himself in dark and deep caves, from whence he was taken, attended only by four companions of his fortune,

fortune, who were (the thing is remarkable, and shews the effeminacy of this mock King) his cook, baker, bather, and the fool, that diverted him at table. He was thrown into a dungeon, where he perished soon after of the lousy disease.

Rupilius, to leave no remains nor suspicion of troubles and revolts in Sicily, made the tour of the whole island with a detachment of chosen troops; and after having entirely re-established peace, he applied himself, in concert with the ten commissioners the Senate had sent thither for that purpose, to institute such wise regulations, as were highly approved by the people, and considered as the foundations of the publick tranquillity. This Rupilius, as we see, was a man of ability and merit; but not of birth. The Sicilians were without doubt much surprized to have a person to regard as a Consul and Legislator whom they had seen in their island as an officer of the revenue. The favour of Scipio Africanus, who knew men as well as things, had much contributed to raise him to the Consulship.

Val. Max.
vi. 9.

After he had regulated the affairs of Sicily, he returned to Rome with his army. He had done actions, which indispensably deserved a triumph. But it was judged that the meanness of the enemies had in some measure degraded so signal an honour. It was thought sufficient to grant him only the inferior triumph, called *Ovatio*.

Attalus King of Pergamus died about the 614th year of Rome. His nephew, who had the same name, with the surname of Philometor, succeeded him in his kingdom, but not in his virtues. For, as if he had intended to make his subjects regret the loss of him, he abandoned himself to all kinds of excess and debauchery.

War with
Ariston-
icus.
Freinsh.
Supplem.

Happily

Happily for them his reign was short, and continued only five years.

Having no children, he made a will, by which he appointed the Roman People his heirs. Eudemus of Pergamus carried it to Rome.

But Aristonicus, who gave himself out as descended from the royal family, endeavoured to get possession of the States of Attalus. And indeed he was the son of Eumenes, but not legitimate.

He soon formed a considerable party, as well by the favour of the people accustomed to be governed by Kings, as the aid of the slaves, who at that time had revolted in Asia against their masters, as those of Sicily had done, and for the same reasons. Neither the resistance of many cities, who refused to acknowledge him, nor the succours sent those cities by the Kings of Bithynia and Cappadocia, could stop his progress. The Senate of Rome deputed five Ambassadors or Commissioners, whose unarmed authority produced
A.R. 621. no effect. The Romans at length made an army set out under the command of P. Licinius Crassus, a very rich man, of high birth, eloquent, an able Lawyer, and great Pontiff, but who does not seem to have had any military merit. He was the first *Pontifex Maximus*, to whom any command out of Italy had been given.

His exploits in Asia were very inconsiderable. History relates nothing more memorable of him, than an act of severity, which may well be termed excessive rigour. It is as follows. In besieging a city of Asia, he sent to demand of another city, in alliance with the Romans, the greatest of two masts he had seen there. His intent was to make a battering ram of it. The chief engineer of the place believed the least suited the

the Consul's design best, and sent it. Upon which Licinius ordered that engineer to attend him; and without hearing his reasons, ordered him to be stript and scourged, saying, that he required obedience, and not advice from him.

He perished miserably, and even, if Justin may be believed, by his own fault; having (a) been less intent upon conducting the war well, than upon collecting and converting to his own use the riches of the Kings of Pergamus. His army was defeated, and himself taking prisoner. He however avoided the disgrace of being delivered to the victor, by making a barbarian kill him, into whose eye he thrust a stick which he had in his hand, on purpose to enrage him.

The Consul Perperna, who succeeded Crassus, A.R. 622. soon revenged his death. Having made the utmost expedition into Asia, he gave Aristonicus battle, entirely defeated his army, besieged him soon after in Stratonicea, and at length took him prisoner.

He immediately sent him to Rome in the fleet A.R. 623. which he laded with all the treasures of Attalus. Manius Aquilius, who had lately been elected Consul, made haste to take his place, in order to terminate the war, and deprive him of the honour of a triumph. He found Aristonicus set out, and soon after Perperna, who had followed, died of a disease at Pergamus. Aquilius had no difficulty in putting an end to the war, which Perperna had brought so near a successful conclusion. He however dishonoured the advantages he gained, by an horrid crime which all nations detest. In order to force some places to surrender, he poison-

(a) *Intentior Attalicæ prædæ, quam bello. Justin. xxxvi.*

ed the springs from which they had their water. The fruits of this war to the Romans was that Lydia, Caria, the Hellespont, Phrygia, in a word all that composed the kingdom of Attalus, was reduced into a Roman province, under the common name of Asia.

The Senate had given orders to destroy the city of Phocæa, which had declared against the Romans, both in the war, of which we have been speaking, and before in that against Antiochus. The inhabitants of Marseilles, which was a Colony of Phocæa, moved as much with the danger of their founders, as if that of their own city had been in question, sent deputies to Rome to implore the clemency of the Senate and People in their favour. However just the indignation of the Romans was against Phocæa, they could not refuse complying with the warm solicitations of a People, for whom they had long had the highest regard, and who rendered themselves still more worthy of it by the tender gratitude they expressed for their forefathers and founders.

Manius Aquilius on returning to Rome received the honour of a triumph, instead of the punishment he had justly deserved for the unworthy and criminal methods to which he owed his successes. And soon after, on being accused of extortion, he was acquitted, which did not retrieve his honour, but disgraced his judges. As to Aristonicus, having been exhibited as a sight to a People in the triumph of Aquilius, he was carried to prison and strangled. And these were the consequences of Attalus's will.

Mithridates, in his letter to Arsaces, King of the Parthians, (a) accused the Romans of having forged a will of Attalus, to deprive Aristonicus, the son of Eumenes, of his father's kingdom, which appertained to him by right; but it is a declared enemy, who lays this crime to their charge, and consequently his testimony is of no weight.

(a) Simulato impio testamento, filium ejus (Eumenes) Aristonicum, quia patrum regnum petiverat, hostium more per triumphum duxerat. *A. pud Sallust. in fragm.*

End of VOL. VIII.



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